

**A SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF MODAL VERBS IN BARACK  
OBAMA'S 2012 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SPEECHES**

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**A SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF MODAL VERBS IN  
BARACK OBAMA'S 2012 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
SPEECHES**

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## ABSTRACT

The main idea of this research is to analyze the English modals in Obama's speech semantically. Therefore, the main objectives of this research are (i) to determine the frequency count of modal auxiliaries in the selected texts (ii) to analyze selected modal auxiliaries identified in selected Obama's campaign speeches based on Coates' (1983) semantic clusters. A total of fifteen Obama's campaign speeches were selected as the primary data and the modal auxiliaries selected for analysis include WILL, WOULD, CAN, COULD, SHOULD, MUST, OUGHT, SHALL, MAY and MIGHT. All the modal auxiliaries are interpreted based on the framework of Coates' (1983) semantic clusters. Both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis were applied into this study. In this study, it begins with frequency counts of modal auxiliaries used in the selected speeches. From the frequency counts carried out, it reveals the distribution patterns of the modal auxiliaries identified in the selected speeches. Following the frequency counts, detailed analysis was carried out to examine how modal auxiliaries are used in the context of persuading people in Obama's campaign speeches. It is found that modals of intention/prediction/futurity and modals of possibility/ability/permission are mostly used in Obama's campaign speeches. Especially, Modal WILL and CAN are used overwhelmingly, i.e. 222 occurrences (26.3%) and 210 occurrences (24.9%), respectively. This might be due to the nature of the campaign speeches which aim to persuade addressees to vote. In addition, it is the WILL of prediction and CAN of possibility is used most frequently by Barak Obama in delivering his persuasion. The modal auxiliary WILL signifying prediction functions to depict the Obama's future plans. WILL in many ways foregrounds the objectives of Obama's government and it functions as a promise thus it increases the addressees' confidence towards his government. And the modal auxiliary CAN signifying possibility functions to evoke positive emotions and connotations in the mind of all the listeners and remind all citizens to look bright side, thus persuasion is realized through motivation.

## ABSTRAK

Kajian ini adalah satu analisa semantik ke atas modals di dalam Bahasa Inggeris yang digunakan di dalam pengucapan Obama. Objektif utama kajian ini adalah i) untuk menentukan bilangan kekerapan modal auxiliaries di dalam teks-teks terpilih ii) untuk menganalisa modal auxiliaries tersebut berdasarkan kluster semantik Coates (1983) di dalam ucapan-ucapan kempen Obama. Sebanyak lima belas ucapan kempen pilihanraya Obama telah dipilih sebagai data utama dan modal auxiliaries yang dianalisa adalah WILL, WOULD, CAN, COULD, SHOULD, MUST, OUGHT, SHALL, MAY dan MIGHT. Kesemua modal auxiliaries tersebut ditafsirkan berdasarkan rangkakerja kluster semantik Coates (1983). Kedua-dua metod kualitatif dan kuantitatif digunakan di dalam kajian ini. Ia bermula dengan mengira bilangan kekerapan modal auxiliaries yang digunakan di dalam ucapan-ucapan tersebut. Daripada bilangan kekerapan, ia dapat menggambarkan corak penggunaan modal auxiliaries di dalam ucapan-ucapan itu. Selepas memperoleh bilangan kekerapan, analisis secara terperinci dilakukan dengan bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana modal auxiliaries digunakan di dalam konteks mempengaruhi pengundi-pengundi semasa berucap di dalam kempen Obama. Didapati bahawa mod-mod tujuan/ramalan/masa depan dan mod-mod kemungkinan/kebolehpayaan/kebenaran adalah paling kerap digunakan. Modal WILL dan CAN didapati digunakan paling kerap, iaitu masing-masing 222 kali (26.3%) dan 210 kali (24.9%). Kedua-dua modal auxiliaries di atas digunakan paling kerap berkemungkinan kerana ucapan kempen mempunyai fungsi mempengaruhi pendengar supaya dapat meraih undi. Selain dari itu, WILL paling kerap digunakan dalam konteks ramalan dan CAN paling kerap digunakan di dalam konteks kemungkinan. Modal auxiliary WILL yang berfungsi sebagai ramalan digunakan untuk menggambarkan rancangan-rancangan Obama di masa hadapan. Oleh itu, penggunaan WILL dapat menyerlahkan objektif kerajaan Obama dan ia berfungsi sebagai suatu janji dan dengan itu meningkatkan keyakinan pengundi terhadap kerajaan pimpinan Obama. Modal auxiliary CAN pula membawa fungsi kemungkinan bagi menimbulkan emosi dan konotasi yang positif di dalam pemikiran pendengar-pendengar dan mengingatkan mereka supaya memberi perhatian pada aspek yang positif, dan seterusnya pemujukan dilahirkan melalui motivasi.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.0. Introduction**

This study is carried out to examine how modal verbs are used in Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches, in which modal verbs are used in the context of persuading people to vote. The chapter outlines background of this study in section 1.1, which could provide readers background knowledge about this research, the problem statement in section 1.2, the objective of research in section 1.3, the research questions in 1.4, the significance of the research in section 1.5, the delimitation of the research in section 1.6, organization of the research in section 1.7 and the conclusion in section 1.8.

#### **1.1. Background of the study**

In the 2012, US presidential election campaign caught attentions from all over the world. The democrat Barack Obama and the republican Mitt Romney ran for the 45th president campaign of United States. No matter who wins, this future US president would make a difference to America and even to the whole world. On the eve of the US presidential election, the world press took stock of the relative opinions of Barack Obama and Mitt Romney. And suddenly, these two American politicians became the hottest topic. The election took place on 6<sup>th</sup>, November 2012. Barack Obama and his fellow democrats finally won his second term of campaign election. He defeated his republican rival Mitt Romney and has been re-elected as the president of the United States.

In 2008, Barack Obama made himself the historical figure of America for being elected as the first black American president of US. Many political commentators refer

to Barack Obama's success as "the power of words". Leanne (2009) names Barack Obama "a master of the craft of communication." She claims that one of the reasons that made Barack Obama tear down the traditional barrier of race and ethnicity and became the first African American president of the US is his distinguished communicative abilities. As reported by BBC, "Barack Obama and his campaign team seems to have the ability of enticing many of his supporters in 2008 to back to the polls, meanwhile, also persuaded undecided voters that Mitt Romney was not the good choice for leading the country in the next four years (07, NOV, 2012). Supportive ideas also came from Woolley and Peters. In their research project (2009) which regards the American presidency, they stated that Barack Obama benefitted from his personal charm, charisma and skillful oratory. Mixing the old and new media strategies enables him to sustain and gain popular support.

Recently, this first African American president also increasingly becomes the subject of concern in linguistic area. Sufficient studies have been carried out to study political speeches of Barack Obama (Wang, 2010; Capone, 2010, Shayegh, 2012.etc). His inspiring language is used evidentially rally after rally, speech after speech, debate after debate, which has generated wide attentions to analyze linguistic features and patterns.

The current research is carried out to study president Obama's public speeches, particularly, his 2012 presidential election campaign speeches. The presidential campaign speeches are subject to political, formal and persuasive speeches. The purpose of giving campaign speeches is to drum up support for the candidate (Sprague, Stuart & Bodary, 2008, p.72). In Obama's campaign speeches, he keeps sending the message about his fundamental political values and principles and tries to convince millions of

people that he can bring the bright future to the public. It is noted that the campaign speeches are used as a means of overt communication and persuasion. His successful speeches delivery weighs significantly in establishing his positive public image and achieving solidarity with audiences. How could Obama' speeches catch attentions from the national-wide audiences? This may relate to the choices of lexical items in his speeches. Schaffner (1996) argues that political action is prepared, accompanied, controlled and influenced by language. With words, the speaker can effectively convey his/her thoughts, feelings, message and information. As Huxley (1962, p.6) claims that words have the power to mould man's thinking, to canalize their feelings, to direct their willing and give rise of their acting. Hence, from linguistic perspective, it would be interesting to investigate how the language used by Obama to convey his assertion, obligation, intention and desirability and to find out the hidden persuasive features and meanings behind the speech texts, which are not obvious at the first glance.

Based on Lillian (2008), the persuasion and manipulation in political text can be realized through the illegitimately use of linguistic devices, which means modality. Modality refers to the classification of logical proposition according to the speaker's asserting or denying the possibility, impossibility, contingency, or necessity of their utterance (Lyons, 1977). In other words, modality mirrors the speakers' attitudes, opinions and intention upon what he/she has said. As pointed by Fairclough (2001, p.105), modality has to deal with the authority of the speaker, and implicit power relations and authority makes modality connect with ideology (ibid, p.106), therefore, study of modality is a part of exposing one's value system. Perkins (1983, p.19) claims that "discussion of modality in linguistic has been concerned almost exclusively with modal auxiliary verbs", modal auxiliaries can effectively express modality. Thus, the use of modal auxiliaries can indicate speakers' opinions, desirability, intentions and



obligations, such as “we CAN...” “you MAY ...” or “I MUST...”. As mentioned above, it is plausible assumed that modal auxiliaries used in Obama’s campaign speeches play important roles in shaping the target audiences’ thinking and attitudes. Due to this, the researcher decided to carry out this study to examine how modal verbs are used in Barack Obama’s 2012 presidential campaign speeches in the context of persuading American citizens to vote for him. It is hoped that this study can probably shed some light on how persuasion containing in Obama’s speech is realized linguistically, particularly, through the use of modal auxiliaries.

## **1.2. Problem statement**

United States, as a democratic country, regards the president election as a big event, which is held once every four years. Holbrook (1996, p.45) asserted that "from 1952 to 1992, over of 97% of all voters have been exposed to the presidential campaign". Presidential candidates and their allied parties donated millions and millions of dollars on their political campaign. They appeared on TV talk shows, participated in debates, and gave public speeches (Benoit, 2007, p.vii). In the book, “*Campaigns and Elections American Style*”, Thurber (2004) points out that “Campaigns are wars, battles for the hearts and minds, but most importantly for the votes of the American people.” It seems to be a proper metaphor that presidential campaign is like a war or a battle, due to the extensive political strategies employed by presidential campaign candidates. Therefore, presidential campaign not only plays a critical role in the western political life but also has influential effects on people’s life.

During the campaign, in order to win the election, candidate attempts to convince national audiences of his/her adequacy in office, ignite public enthusiasm and project his/her government in a favorable light. With such weightiness, the candidate has to be

terribly wary of his/her wording so as to maintain a good relationship with the audiences and persuade them to accept and support their policy. Hence, from simple slogans till well-prepared speeches, the language used by such politicians must be rigorous and tactful. And the choices of words and phrases in their speeches must be purposeful and deliberate, so that the speaker can effectively sway the targeted audiences. Since the study of political speeches continues to develop and diversify, the power of political language in influencing election result is an increasingly site of linguistic research. Linguists are interested in analyzing how the linguistic structures are used to get politically relevant messages across to the addressees so as to fulfill a specific function. Sufficient studies have been done to analyze the use of language in campaign speeches, for example, Windes' study (1961) of identifying effective and ineffective presidential campaign speaking; Hart's study (2000) of investigating the impact of presidential candidate's word choices in campaign speeches; Ballotti & Kaid' study (2009) of examining verbal style in presidential campaign speeches; Hammer's study (2009) of analyzing the role of narrative in Obama's 2008 presidential campaign speeches, Olive's study (2008) of analyzing Obama's oratorical style in his speeches, etc.. However, so far, the researcher has yet to come across any research which is carried out to study Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches. His 2012 presidential campaign speeches are considered as the latest data for campaign speeches analysis. In this sense, to a certain degree, this research could make the study on analyzing campaign speeches more complete and also could make further development of study on presidential campaign discourse.

In addition, the researcher narrows down the research scope to Barak Obama's campaign speeches. As mentioned earlier (section 1.1), Obama is the one who gets the skillful oratory. For being re-elected, he must be excellent in many fields, where the

power of speaking is crucial. Hence, under such a circumstance, his utterances are valuable to be examined. However, after reviewing previous literature, the researcher finds out that a number of studies have been carried out to study Obama's public speeches, such as from the aspects of pragmatics (Capone, 2010), functional analysis (Wilson-Kratzer & Benoit, 2010), stylistic analysis (Escudero, 2011), rhetorical devices analysis (Hernández-Guerra, 2012) and language and power (Wang, 2010 and Shayegh, 2012), etc. Nevertheless, so far, none of previous papers solely focus on analyzing the presence of modal auxiliaries used in Obama's speeches. In other words, the semantic meaning and functions of modal auxiliaries used in his speeches has been neglected. Hence, in order to fill this research gap, the researcher strongly believes that there is a need to conduct this study. In this sense, this research is considered to contain a certain academic values. What's more, analyzing Obama's presidential election campaign speeches in 2012 also link the contemporarily popular political topic with the academic study.

### **1.3. Objective of the study**

The objective of this study is to analyze how modal auxiliaries are used in Barack Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches in the context of persuading American citizens to vote for him. According to this objective, the data will be examined in two ways:

1. To determine the frequency count of modal auxiliaries in the selected texts
2. To examine the usage of modal auxiliaries in the context of persuading people in the selected Barack Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches

#### **1.4. Research Question**

Based on the objective of the research, the researcher formulates these two research questions to guide this study:

1. What are the frequency counts of the modal auxiliaries of obligation/necessity, intention/prediction/futurity, possibility/ability/permission, and epistemic possibility in Barack Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches?
2. How the modal auxiliaries are used in the context of persuading people in the selected Barack Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches?

#### **1.5. Significance of the study**

In this study, modal verbs used in Obama's presidential speeches are analyzed from semantic perspective, which focuses on examining the semantic meaning and functions of modal auxiliaries present in Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches. As it is noted, English modal verbs play a very important role in the spoken and written communications. However, English modal verbs are a complex semantic system since most English modal verbs are polysemants, and they are fuzzy in connotation and extension and indeterminate in sense (Coates, 1983). Palmer (1990, p.1) states that "modal verbs might be the most complex but important item in the English grammar system." Coates (1983, p.10) explains the complexity of describing modal meaning as following: on the one hand, the distinction between root and epistemic meanings is discrete. On the other hand, both root and epistemic meanings involve indeterminacy. Failing to properly use modals may cause unexpected misunderstandings in communication. Therefore, it is valuable to carry out studies to investigate the semantic meanings and functions of modal verbs. It is hoped that this study can be beneficial to others.

For readers, it is hoped that when readers come across language of politician, they could think critically about the proposition expressed by the politicians because their choices of modal auxiliaries will actually uncover their attitude, and in doing so to reflect their value system.

For other researchers, it is hoped to provide some referential values for them who are interested in analyzing Barack Obama's speeches as well as public speaking from other perspectives, such as systemic functional grammar, pragmatics, CDA, etc.

This study is beneficial to English learners, who are learning English as a second or foreign language. Recognizing how English modal auxiliaries are used in campaign speeches could provide English learners a better understanding on how to use modal auxiliaries properly in terms of expressing speakers' attitudes, desires, intention and obligation. It will enrich English learners' knowledge about modal auxiliaries.

#### **1.6. Limitation of the study**

Obviously, this study is limited in certain aspects. Firstly, this study is limited to only ten English modal auxiliaries, i.e. CAN, COULD, MAY, MIGHT, SHALL, OUGHT, WOULD, WILL, SHOULD, and MUST and also exclude quasi-modals, such as HAVE TO. It is by no means a comprehensive study of the use of modal verbs in Obama's presidential campaign speeches. Secondly, there are only fifteen of Obama's presidential campaign speeches in data corpus. It is obvious that these selected fifteen speeches cannot be used to represent all of his campaign speeches. Lastly, the analysis is done manually, which means data coding is done without the help of computer software. Hence, there can be some subjective errors or oversights, although the researcher has double checked all the analysis and taken extreme care in providing a

true and accurate picture of the modal verbs in Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches.

### **1.7. Organization of the study**

The study is organized in five chapters.

Chapter One provides discussion on the background of the study, statement of the problem in research area, objectives of study, significance of the study, delimitation and organization of the study.

Chapter Two is the section of literature review, constituting clear definitions of key terms in the study and detailed review of previous researches related to the present study so that to present a clear picture of what other experts have done and achieved in the past to clarify the objectives of the this study.

Chapter Three presents a discussion on the theoretical framework adopted in this research, which is the semantic clusters proposed by Coates (1983). This chapter will also include the research design, description of data selection, as well as procedures of data analyzing.

Chapter Four consists of quantitative and qualitative analysis of data. The analysis will focus on the analysis of the distribution patterns of modal auxiliaries in selected online texts and examine the function of each modal auxiliaries in the context of conveying speaker's political desire, attitudes or intentions so that so persuade audiences to vote. The chapter will also discuss the results of the analysis.

Chapter Five will summarize the main findings and discuss the contribution of the current study and also recommendations for the future research.

## **1.8. Conclusion**

This chapter consists of the background of the study; problem statement; the purpose of the study; significance as well as the limitations of the study. The following chapter will discuss the definitions of some key terms and relative studies have been carried out.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0. Introduction**

A discussion of modality is closely related to discussion of modal auxiliaries. Perkins (1983, p.19) states that discussion of modality in linguistics has been concerned almost exclusively with modal auxiliaries. Since different scholars have probed into modal auxiliaries from different angles, a discussion of modal auxiliaries becomes the controversial topic. In this chapter, the researcher will present clear definitions of certain key terms in this study and then review some of the primary works concerned with the formal description of modality and modal auxiliaries and previous studies on the use of modal auxiliaries in relevant context. It is hoped to provide a clear picture of what other researchers have achieved in the past.

#### **2.1. Definitions**

##### **2.1.1. Speech and political speech**

Before we conduct research on Obama's presidential election campaign speeches, let's build up a general understanding of the features of a public speech. According to Lucas (2004, p.4), speech is a certain way of making the speaker's ideas to be heard, of sharing different opinions among people and of influencing others. It is a form of empowerment. It can make a difference in things that people care about. The Chinese scholar, Xue (2010, p.2) defines the term speech as "an important media of public life and a kind of real and active social activity done by the speaker to audience in order to express the speaker's opinions systematically with the utterance as the main form and body languages as assistance." Speech, as a special form of communication used in a special occasion to particular listeners with specific purposes, has its own irreplaceable



functions. Li (2003, p.20-26) lists out six main functions of speech: 1. The powerful weapon for winning political fights; 2. The perfect counters for succeeding in business; 3. The forceful bugle for encouraging the morale; 4. The effective way for transforming the information; 5. The best way of educating the citizens; 6. The important standard for checking one's ability.

Political speech is also classified as a sub-category of speech. Chilton and Schaffer (1997, p.212-213) propose four strategic functions to define a political speech, which means, "to force, to protest or oppose, to conceal and to legalize or illegalize." As Tian (2004, p.24) stated, political speech shares some common features. Political speech is strongly purposeful and saliently persuasive with its exact participants, including the speaker and the audience.

In this study, presidential election campaign speech is the sub-genre of political speech, which refers to persuasive speech given by the speaker with intended political purpose. The ultimate goal of giving such speeches is to win the trust and support from audience and persuade them to vote (Sprague, Stuart & Bodary, 2008).

### **2.1.2. Persuasion**

Persuasion is considered as dealing with judgment rather than certainty (Simon, 2001, p.5). Simons claims that the common feature of persuasive communications is to invite message recipients to make a certain choice. These paradigm cases of persuasion involve no complex admixture of motives, no masking of persuasive intent, no questions about whether they are attempts at persuasion or some other form of influence. Typically, it is clear from their context what sorts of practices they are and what they are designed to accomplish (ibid, p.7). Persuasion is a kind of human

communication, which aims at influencing others' autonomous judgments and actions. In other words, persuasion is a form of attempted influence in the sense that it intends to change the way of others' thinking, feeling, or acting (ibid, p.11).

According to Martin (1989), persuasive texts, in general, may be grouped under the genre referred to as "exposition", which can be further divided into two sub-types: analytical and hortatory. Martin (1989, p.17) summarizes the distinction between these two types by arguing that hortatory exposition "persuade to", whereas analytical exposition "persuades that". Hortatory exposition refers to a genre that persuades an addressee to call upon an act, while analytical exposition, on the other hand, persuades an addressee to adapt a particular view of the world. In hortatory exposition, addressees are persuaded to do something, on which occasion, persuasion refers to the proposals in which the space between doing and not doing is negotiated. In analytical exposition, on the other hand, addressee are persuaded what is or is not the case, where, persuasion involves the negotiation of proposition.

In this study, persuasion in presidential campaign speeches belongs to hortatory expositions, because it refers to a certain activity or processes of human communication designed to satisfy particular goal of gaining the interests from other party. In other words, it refers to convince voters that the speaker is the best choice to lead the country and persuade addressees to vote for him/her. Persuasion, in this sense is to calls upon an addressee to do an action.

### **2.1.3. What Modality is**

Just as what Perkins (1983, p.4) says, studying on modality is very similar to try to move in an over-crowded room without treading on anyone else's feet. Modality have been examined from different approaches such as: modal logic (Von Wright 1951), traditional semantics (Lyons, 1977, Perkins, 1983, Coates, 1983, etc.), systemic functional grammar (Halliday, 1970), and Speech Act Theory (Searle, 1979), etc. In following section, the researcher presents different definitions of modality based on different approaches.

#### **2.1.3.1. Modal logic view**

From modal logic view, modality has been researched in terms of the relationship between proposition and truth values by philosophers. It was the Greek philosopher, Aristotle, who first wrote his idea on modality (Perkins, 1983, p.6). He focused his discussions on the notions of impossibility, necessity, and possibility, as well as the relations which may be perceived to exist between them, and these provide the basis of modal logic, which is now one of the most actively pursued branches of logic.

Von Wright (1951), in his pioneering work on modal logic, classifies modality into four modes. The first group is alethic modes or modes of truth, which refers a proposition pronounced necessarily, possibly, or contingently true; the second group is epistemic modes or modes of knowing. The basic epistemic modality are: verified (known to be true), false (known to be false), undecided (neither known to be true or false). The third group is deontic or modes of obligation. The basic deontic meaning of deontic modality is: obligation, permitted, and forbidden. The last group is existential modes or modes of existence (ibid, p.1-2). Von Wright points out that modal concepts and truth-concepts are different, but these two fields of categories are not logically

totally disconnected. He emphasizes that significance differences between the various kinds of modalities consists in the different ways in which modalities of the various kinds are related to the truth concepts (ibid, p.3). It is von wright who creates these epistemic and deontic terms, which are still used today in linguistics. His categorization has great influence on the later studies.

### **2.1.3.2 Semantic view**

In the field of linguistics, linguists lay emphasis on studying modality predominantly focused on the category's semantic and syntactic level. The semanticists attach great importance to the references and anaphors that can illustrate the relations between the real world and possible world. Lyons (1977, p.451-452) defines modality as “the speaker's opinion or attitude towards the proposition that the sentence express or the situation that the proposition describes”. For instance, here is a proposition “he is single.” Compare the following two sentences:

1. He MAY be single.
2. He MUST be single.

It is apparent that both of these two sentences contain the same proposition, however, semantically, these two sentences are different because the speaker expresses varied opinions or attitude. The proposition covered is modified to different extend by means of different modal auxiliaries capitalized in (1) and (2).

Palmer (1986, p.16) argues that subjectivity might be considered as an essential feature of modality and that epistemic modality. Thereby, he defines modality as “the grammaticalization of speakers' (subjective) attitudes and opinion”. He classifies three types of modality, namely, epistemic, deontic and dynamic. From his definition, epistemic modality is concerned with “the speaker's knowledge, belief or attitude to the

truth-value or factual status of the proposition” (ibid, p.51); deontic modality implies that the speaker the speaker has certain power which enables him to put responsibility or duty on the partner (ibid, p. 96); and dynamic modality refers to inherently conveys more the ability or volition of the subject rather than the opinion or attitude of the speaker. Contrary to Palmer’s classifications of modality, Coates (1983, p.18) follows the dichotomy classification that includes epistemic modality and root modality. From her point of view, modality can be classified as either epistemic modality or non-epistemic modality (root modality), which is in turn composed of deontic modality and dynamic modality. Coates’s classification is supported by Sweetser. She (1990, p.49) clarifies that modal expressions can be recognized into two senses: root meaning, which denotes real world ability, permission, or obligation; and epistemic meaning, which denotes probability, necessity, or possibility in reasoning.

### **2.1.3.3 Systemic functional grammar**

Under the frame of systemic-functional grammar, Halliday (1985) depicts mood and modality in a new look. A functional approach to investigate language is based on the assumption that the language system has been evolving to serve the functions which we need. According to systemic functional grammar, language can be used to express three meanings: ideational, interpersonal, and textual simultaneously. As an independent meaning system, modality is a strong tool to express interpersonal meaning. In the notion of systemic functional grammar, modality is closely connected with polarities between positive and negative. In real life, the possibilities are not just about choices between “yes” and “no”. there are some intermediate degrees and scales: various kinds of indeterminacy that fall in between, like “possibly” “a kind of” or “maybe” etc. a speaker may assert a lower or higher degree of certainty about the validity of a

proposition, or a lower or higher degree of stress on the partner to carry out a command. These intermediate degrees between two poles are known as modality (ibid, p.86).

#### **2.1.3.4 Speech act theory**

From the perspective of pragmatics, language is analyzed with the main concern of language use and utterance function. Speech act theory (SAT) has been cited as a framework to discuss about mood and modality. SAT is proposed by Austin (1962) and developed by Searle (1979). Searle (1979) classifies the illocutionary acts into five categories, including assertive, directives, commissive, declaratives and expressive, which are usually used in the discussion of modality. Among them, declarative brings about some alternation in the status or condition in the world and rarely involve modal expressions, while assertive include the world view of epistemic modality. Assertive is representational instances of language use; the words are made to fit the world as it is perceived. However, not only does this category embrace the whole of epistemic modality, it also includes statements of fact (Kreidler, 1998, p.183). Lyons (1977, p.809) makes the apparently contradictory observation that there is no epistemically stronger statements than a categorical assertion; he argues that by saying, for instance, “he is single” rather than “he must be single”, the speaker is more strongly committed to the factuality of the utterance, because of the evidence, visual or audial, available to the speaker. Expressive involves the conveyance of feelings such as sympathy, apology, gratitude, and greeting, some expressions, such as I think/ assume/ feel like/doubt or it MAY/CAN/MUST be, can be considered as expressive. What’s more, directive and commissive are parallel to deontic uses. As their names indicate, directive consists in the fact that the speaker directs the hearer to do things, for instance, the sentence containing the modal verb CAN, “CAN you close the door?” is a request to the hearer to close the door; whereas, commissive is to commit the speaker to some

action, for instance, the sentence containing the modal auxiliary WILL, “I WILL come back immediately.” is a promise that the speaker will keep it and definitely do it.

To sum up, regardless from which angles that scholars and researchers probe into modality, this section reveals that modality is semantic class which refers to people talk about factual matters-- true or not true, maybe true or maybe not true; what has happened or has not happened; what ought to be or not to be; what certain individuals are capable of; what is possible or impossible and what is obligated to do or not to do (Charles, 1998, p.239). Simply speaking, modality refers to show the speaker’s attitude to a certain proposition, the subjectively or objectively towards an utterance (Lyons, 1977, Coates, 1983).

## **2.2. English modal auxiliaries**

### **2.2.1.Modal auxiliaries as linguistic device to express modality**

In the book “*semantics*”, Saeed (1997, p.125-128) interprets modality is an important semantic category. Speaker can express various scales and degrees of commitment to, or belief in, a proposition with modality. He states that there is a number of linguistic strategies can realize it. Firstly, it can be realized through an embedded clause with an adjective or adverb of modality, for instance, it is *certain/probable/ likely* that .....; or “possibly, probably....”; Another strategy is realized through the use of verbs, for instance, I *know/believe/ think/ doubt*.....; And the last strategy in English can be realized through modal auxiliaries, for instance, you *must/might/could/should* .... However, these linguistic devices are invariably mentioned, except modal auxiliary verbs, which constitute the only formally coherent class of modal expression. Therefore, the discussion of modality in linguistics has been concerned almost exclusively with the syntactic class of modal auxiliary verbs (Perkins, 1983, p.19). In English, modal

auxiliaries carry a range of semantic meanings, and they are very important lexical items, which are used to express speakers' or writers' judgments or attitudes towards target audiences (Coates, 1983). In this study, the main concern is to discuss modal auxiliaries used in Barack Obama's presidential campaign speeches, in the context of persuading national-wide audiences to vote for him. Hence, in the following section, English modal auxiliary verbs will be discussed in detail.

### 2.2.2. Properties of modal auxiliaries

Huddleston (1976, as cited in Coates 1983, p.3) proposes NICE properties (Negation, Inversion, Code, and Emphasis) to differentiate modal auxiliary verbs from main verbs. Later, Palmer (1979, as cited in Coates, 1983) adds three more properties to make the "modal criteria" more complete. These three properties are: 1). no –s form for third person singular; 2). no non-finite forms; and 3). no co-occurrence (ibid, p.4). The detailed syntactic and semantic features of modal auxiliary verbs are illustrated as follows:

1. Take **negation** directly: e.g. *CAN'T* or *MUSTN'T*
2. Take **inversion** without *do*: e.g. *CAN I....?* or *MAY I ....?*
3. **Code**: e.g. *I CAN finish it, so CAN you.*
4. **Emphasis**: e.g. *she MUST do it.*
5. No-s form for third person singular: e.g. \* *CANs* or \**SHOULDs*
6. No non-finite forms: e.g. \* *to MAY* or \* *to COULD*
7. No co-occurrence: e.g. \**SHOULD MUST* or \**CAN MAY*

(Coates, 1983, p.4)



These seven features are clear enough to indicate that modal auxiliary verbs should be treated as a separated verb class. In Coates's study (1983), she analyzes ten modal auxiliary verbs, which are MUST, SHOULD, OUGHT, MAY, MIGHT, CAN, COULD, WILL, WOULD and SHALL. In this study, these ten modal auxiliaries are also taken into account.

### **2.2.3. Semantic meanings of modal auxiliaries**

Modal verb system is believed to be most difficult domain to describe in the English grammar (Perkins, 1983, p.35). It is not only the modal verbs are ambiguous but also because they hold the senses of feelings, attitudes and ideas, which are not easy to make clear. Since the richness and variety of human feelings, the senses of the modal verbs are different in different contexts. All of these make modal verbs a very complex semantic system. Therefore, how to identify the meanings of modal auxiliary verbs is still a debatable subject. In general, there are two popular views need to reviewed, one is monosemy view proposed by Joos (1964) and Perkins (1983),etc.; the other one is polysmous view proposed by Lyons (1977), Quirk et al., (1985), Coates (1983), and Palmer (1990) etc..

#### **2.2.3.1. Monosemy view**

Simply speaking, linguists who claim the monosemy of the modal verbs argue that each modal verb has a basic meaning or a core meaning. It is the essential meaning of a modal verb when it is detached from the co-text.

In Joos's study (1964), he adopts monosemantic approach to analyze eight modal auxiliaries, by which means WILL, SHALL, MUST, OUGHT, DARE, NEED, CAN and MAY. He (ibid, p.149) argues that there are three kinds of differences in meaning

among these modal auxiliaries, which is either “casual” or “stable” and either “adequate” or “contingent”, and either “assures the event” or “specifies that it is potential”. It means that the difference among these modal auxiliaries depends on which of those characteristics are contained by which modal auxiliaries. He defines these eight modal auxiliaries as follows (ibid, p.153):

*Shall (includes should)—contingent casual assurance*

*Will-- adequate casual assurance*

*Must – adequate stable assurance*

*Ought to – contingent stable assurance*

*Dare—adequate stable potentiality*

*Need—contingent stable potentiality*

*Can—adequate casual potentiality*

*May—contingent casual potentiality*

For example:

(1). I WILL go to library.

(2). I SHALL go to library.

Obviously, these two sentences express similar proposition, however, semantically, they are different because the proposition expressed is modified by the means of different modal auxiliaries, WILL and SHALL.

According to Joos (ibid, p.150), casual assurance is the sole meaning of both WILL and SHALL, the first for adequate casual assurance and the second for contingent casual assurance. More specifically, modal auxiliary WILL refers “*to at the time of speaking, there is adequate casual assurance of eventual occurrence: the event is assured by everything the speaker has not overlooked; its failure to occur is inconsistent*

*with all the cogent circumstances” (ibid, p.156). Modal WILL reserves for “intention, volition, and choice, etc.” While for modal SHALL, it refers to “at the time of speaking moment there is contingent casual assurance of eventual occurrence: the assertion is heedful of circumstances and is worked with this modal to allow that events assured to such an extent have failed to occur; failure is inconsistent with heeded circumstances while perhaps consistent with others”(ibid, p.156).*

Obviously, From Joos’s point of view, each modal auxiliary is treated with strict description. And it reveals that each modal auxiliary has the “unitary meaning” which does not dependent on the various contexts in which the modal auxiliaries involve in. however, from my personal opinion, Joos fails to take few factors into consideration, such as social relationship of the participants and types of social situations, where the modal auxiliaries are used.

Later, this monosemy view is supported by another scholar, Perkins. Perkins (1983) proposes that in all its uses, a certain English modal verb expresses the same fundamental meaning and the particular context in which it appears will have direct influence on the excess meaning. The basic meaning is not restricted by the context, and all the other meanings of the modal verbs are overtones, which are the results of the interaction between the basic meaning and contexts. The basic meaning refers to the meaning that “applies in all its occurrences” and is “in a sense the lowest common denominator of all the occurrences”, whereas the overtones are subsidiary meaning which derives from the basic meaning.

However, monosemantic view seems problematic, because this approach cannot give reasonable explanation to all the English modal verbs. Even Perkins, himself,

accepts this fact by saying that “in choosing such a strategy, ....i accept that it cannot tell the whole story....”(ibid, p.27). Therefore, the contrary view, polysemy view is getting popular.

#### **2.2.3.2. Polysemy view**

Different from monosemantic view, linguists who hold polysemy approach to study modal auxiliaries regard modal auxiliaries are polysemants.

Leech (1974, p.67) argues that there are two types of meanings of modal verb “MAY”. The chief meaning of MAY is *permission* given by the speaker. For instance, “you MAY leave now”, it means that “you are permitted (by the speaker) to leave now.” The second meaning expressed by MAY is *possibility* (ibid, p. 68). For instance, “look, It MAY rain later”, it means that “it is possible that it is going to rain later.” The use of MAY in possibility sense is common in statements rather than in interrogative sentence. Later, he points out that sometimes it is not easy to distinguish the meaning of “permission” and “possibility”. It is particularly easy to confuse these two meanings in scientific and mathematical writing, in which the writer is expounding an abstract system of thought. MAY in certain circumstances could be either interpreted as “it is permitted by the rules” or “it is possible within the rules”. For instance, “transitive verbs MAY be active or passive”, this sentence can be interpreted as “the rules of English grammar permits transitive verbs to be active or passive” or “it is possible for transitive verbs to be active or passive within English grammar rules”.

Lyons (1977, p.801) argues that the possibility express by MAY can either be logically inherent in the situation described in the utterance, as in the objective interpretation, i.e. “if you don’t study hard, you MAY fail this semester.”, or be attribute

to the uncertainty of the speaker, as in the subjective interpretation, i.e. “I MAY have left my bag at home.”

The discussion about modal MAY is also echoed by Shepherd (1984, as cited in Angamuthu, 2009), he states that most modal auxiliaries have more than one meanings. For instance, MAY is sometimes used to express permission, and sometimes to express possibility. However, shepherd points out that usually the meaning is clear from the situation or the context.

Quirk et al. (1985, p.209) proposed that modal auxiliaries are normally involved into two senses of meanings: intrinsic meaning which refers to some kind of intrinsic human control events (permission, obligation, volition), and extrinsic meaning which refers to the events that human can not control, but does particularly involve human judgment of what is or is not likely happen (possibility, necessity, prediction). They argue that the use of English modal verbs is one of the more problematic areas of English grammar. Based on their observation, they points out that each of the modal auxiliaries has both intrinsic and extrinsic uses: for example, the modal CAN has the meaning of permission (intrinsic) and the meaning of possibility (extrinsic). The meanings of modal verbs proposed by Quirk et at. are illustrated in the figure 2.1 (ibid, p.221).

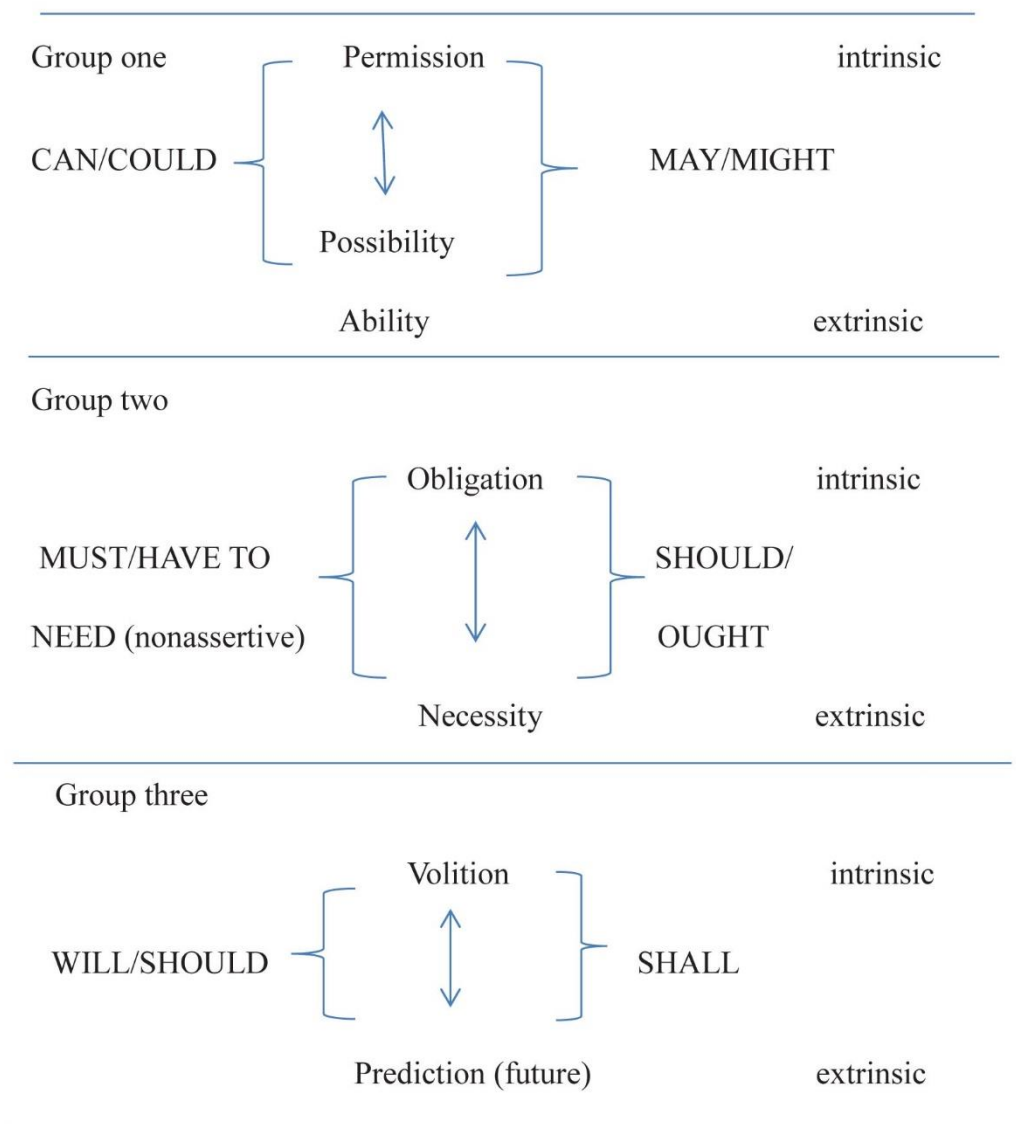


Figure 1: the meanings of modal auxiliaries

Polysemy view is also supported by Coates (1983). She conducts her study based on a large-scale corpus project investigating into the meaning of the modal auxiliaries in modern British English in both written and spoken language. Coates tries to accommodate the richness of possible interpretations of each modal verb signifying its meaning as a fuzzy set which is proposed by Zadeh (1965, as cited in Coates, 1983). She claims that there are only two types of modals, either epistemic or root and both the meanings of root modals and epistemic modals are fuzzy. She suggests a weaker definition of “category” so that the existence of **semantic indeterminacy** can be

reconciled with approach to interpret modal meanings. Coates (ibid, p.14-17) classifies three types of indeterminacy, namely, gradience, ambiguity, and merge.

Coates (ibid, p.14) illustrates the gradience of modal verb as the indeterminate on the continuum of meaning between the semantic core and the periphery. Semantic core refers to the meaning which is firstly learned by the children and it can be associated with cultural stereotype. For instance, if any English speaker is randomly picked and asked to give an example of modal CAN, he/she would repose to the core meaning, which is “ability” such as “I CAN sing” “she CAN read”, “we CAN write.”...etc.” the distinguished features of core meaning “ability” is: 1). The subject is animate and has agentive function; 2). Verb denotes physical action; 3). The possibility of the action is determined by inherent properties of the subject. However, in daily language use, the modal CAN also expresses other meanings apart from the core meaning “ability”. See the examples as following:

1. Every dream CAN be realized. (The subject is not animate)
2. This movie CAN be wonderful. (Verb dose not denote physical action)
3. The only thing we CAN do is to wait. (It is difficult to decide the whether the property in question is the inherent properties of the subject or not)

Among these three sentences shows above, the modal auxiliary CAN in first two sentences contains the meaning of possibility rather than core meaning “ability”. These three sentences also explain how the gradience occurs, in other words, how the continuum of meaning is extended from the core of “ability” to the periphery of “possibility”. What’s more, Coates claims the core meaning of CAN is infrequently occur. Majority of the occurrence is the skirt and periphery meaning, i.e. possibility or permission.

Coates (ibid, p.16) states that the indeterminacy of modal meaning can be realized as ambiguity, in which it is hard to decide which of two meaning is intended.

For example: he MUST get what I am trying to say.

Interpretation One: for sure, he has already understood what I am trying to say.

(The modal verb MUST expresses the epistemic meaning→confidently infer that...)

Interpretation Two: it is an obligation for him to understand what I am trying to

say. (The modal verb MUST expresses the ROOT meaning→ strong obligation.)

From the example, it is quite obvious that with ambiguity the two meanings involved are quite distinct.

For merger, Coates (ibid, p.16) describes it is like ambiguity, however, it is not necessary to decide which of the two meaning is intended, which is also called contextual neutralization. The indeterminacy in this sense that context fails to exclude one of the two possible meaning.

For instance: iPhone is expensive.

—well, it SHOULD be good.

Interpretation One: because iPhone costs a lot, so it is assumed that it is a good product. (The modal SHOULD express epistemic meaning→ from the evidence available, the speaker tentatively assume that....)

Interpretation Two: because iPhone is not cheap, so it is an obligation for the manufacturer to provide a good-quality controlled product to customers. (The modal SHOULD expresses a root meaning→ weak obligation)



From this example, it is noted that merger, unlike ambiguity, although these two interpretations are possible, the meanings involved are mutually compatible, which means they are in both/ and relationship. And it is believed that merger normally occurs between the epistemic and root modalities.

From the researcher's personal view, Coates' semantic indeterminacy (1983) is more convinced to discuss semantic meanings of modal auxiliaries. The researcher could not agree more than that the nature of human language is indeterminacy, so the recognizing indeterminacy is crucial to an understanding of modality. And there is no denying each modal auxiliary covers a wide range of semantic meanings. Therefore, modal auxiliaries should be considered as polysemous. In this study, Coates' framework is adapted into this study. According to Coates, for each modal auxiliary, the distinction between Epistemic meaning and Root meaning is discrete. For example, the modal "WILL" can express epistemic meaning as "prediction", i.e. "I think he WILL come in 10 minutes"; and meanwhile it can express the root meaning as "volition" i.e. "I WILL help you". Hence, in the next section, the focus will be on discussion of Epistemic modals and Root modals.

#### **2.2.4. Epistemic vs. Root modal auxiliaries**

##### **2.2.4.1. Epistemic modal auxiliaries**

Epistemic modality is the one which is most clearly relevant to normal language. According to Coates (1983, p.18), epistemic modality is concerned with the speaker's assumptions or assessment of possibilities and, in most cases, it indicates the speaker's confidence (or lack of confidence) in the truth of the proposition expressed. Simply speaking, epistemic meaning can be interpreted as how the speaker is confident about he/she is saying. Modal verbs, such as MUST, SHOULD, and OUGHT are associated

with assumption, while, MAY, MIGHT, COULD and WILL are related to an assessment of possibilities. All epistemic modals can be roughly placed at the two ends of a scale whose extremes represent confidence and doubt. Coates (ibid, p. 19) summarizes the meanings of epistemic modal verbs showed in figure 2.2:

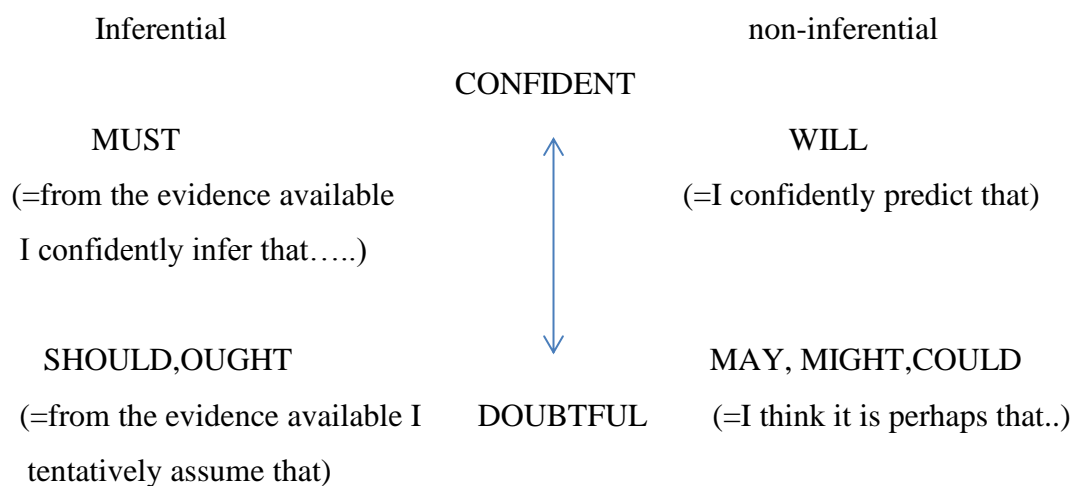


Figure 2: meanings of epistemic modals

Figure 2 clearly shows two parallel scales: one scale presents the confident and doubtful, and the other presents inferential and non-inferential elements. Coates (1983) argues that analyzing epistemic meaning has to take account logic inferential and non – inferential. In the figure, it is identified that both modal “MUST” and “WILL” express high value of confidence. However, the use of epistemic “MUST” indicates that the speaker’s confidence in the truth of the proposition is based on a process of logical inference (ibid, p.41); while the use of epistemic “WILL” indicates that the confidence is based on common sense, or on repeated experience (ibid, p.177).

For example:

1. He **MUST** be in his office at 9 a.m.
2. He **WILL** be in his office at 9 a.m.

Both of these two sentence shows that the speaker asserts a certain proposition (i.e. he is in his office) with highly confidence. But the interpretation of sentence (1) can be like “count on the time that he left home and the time that costs on the transportation, and by 9 a.m., he is in his office”, while the interpretation of sentence (2) can be like “he is used to be in his office at 9 a.m.”. The epistemic WILL therefore relates to the habitual in a way epistemic MUST does not. Hence, the epistemic MUST can be paraphrased as “in the light of what is known, it is the necessary the case that .....” (ibid, p.18), while the epistemic WILL can be paraphrased as “I (confidently) predict that it is the case that ...” (ibid, p.177)

Figure 2.2 also shows that the modal “MAY”, “MIGHT” and “COULD” express low value of confidence, in other words, to express the speaker’s lack of confidence in the truth of the propositions. Karkkainen (1992, as cited in Chakrabarty, 2010) claims that such modals with low value of confidence can be used as politeness strategy in the interaction process among people. For example, Karkkainen (ibid) states that the modal MAY and MIGHT is used as a low intensity modal and its function is to mitigate the effect of the complaint and the suggestion. Hence modal MAY and MIGHT are used as the linguistic device to show polite behavior. However, in the study of Carretero (1992), he points out when people want to make apologies, strong epistemic modals is more polite than weak epistemic modals. For instance: “I am sorry. It MUST be my fault.” Or “I promise you, it WILL never happen again.”

Coates (1983, p. 19) also argues that the negative forms of epistemic modals in relation to these scales is not the inverse. And the negation only affects the proposition not the modality. Details of negative forms of epistemic modals are represented in the figure 2.3.

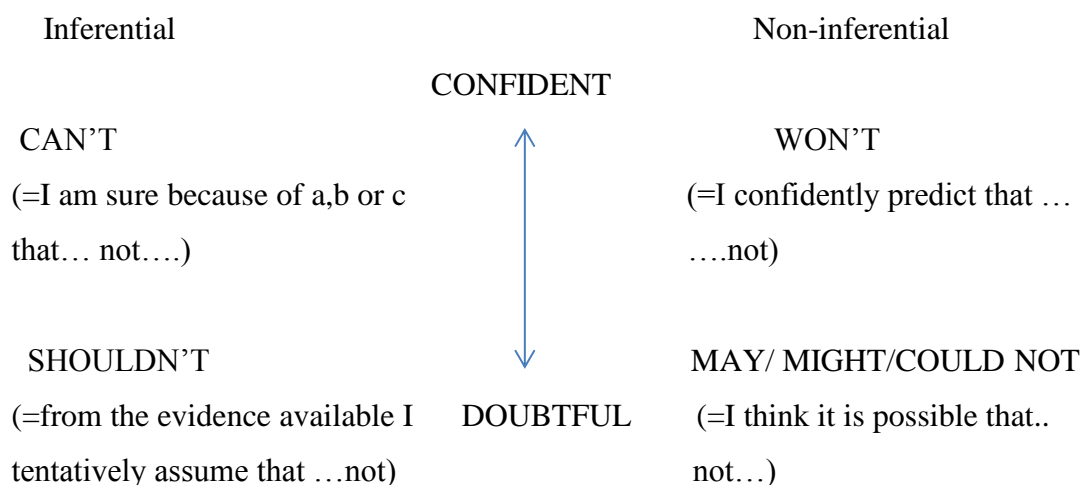


Figure 3: The negative form of epistemic modals

Coates points out that the base form of CAN is never to be epistemic meaning. The negative form of CAN replaces the missing negative for MUST, for the negative MUST is non-epistemic meaning. For instance, the modal MUST is used in affirmative assertion as “She Must be in the library.”, while the modal CAN’T is used in negative of the counterpart of MUST, “She CAN’T be in the library.”. Furthermore, from the example, it also can be identified that the negation affects the meaning of proposition not the modal verbs, i.e. “She CAN’T be in the library” which means the speaker confidently infer that she is not in the library.

To sum up, epistemic modal verbs are used to show the speaker’s confidence towards his/her utterances. In this study, analyzing the use of modal auxiliaries to express persuasion in Obama’s campaign speeches is the main concern. Therefore, in such context, it is plausible to assume that modals such as MUST, SHOULD and WILL which indicate high confidence are used more frequently. Because, when Obama wants to persuade the target audiences, it is crucial for him to show the confidence and certainty towards his claims and stances so that his words would be more convinced and get more support.

#### **2.2.4.2. Root modal auxiliaries**

Root modality, in which the modal verbs mark the speaker's attitude to social actors of obligation, responsibility, and permission, with the judgment about how people should behave in the world (Palmer, 1986, P.47). Root (non-epistemic) modals are difficult to characterize. In both root category and epistemic category, a continuum from subjective and objective meaning is found, and within root category, an independent but parallel continuum from strong to weak meaning exist (Coates, 1983, p.21). For instance, the modal verb **MUST** covers a range of meanings. Obligation just represents the core meaning of Root **MUST**. The meanings relating to Root **MUST** can be shown on a decline, from a strong obligation to weak obligation. The strong obligation can be paraphrased as "it is imperative that...", for example, the mother gives an order to the child by saying "you **MUST** come back before 10 pm."; and the weak obligation can be paraphrased as "it is important to...", for example "I **MUST** finish this work in two days." In this sense, it is more appropriate to interpret as "it is necessary /important for me to finish a certain work within two days." In addition, if someone says that "I" must to do something, it means that the speaker has a definite intention to do it in the future.

Modal auxiliaries **SHALL**, **SHOULD**, **OUGHT**, and **MUST** share the similar **ROOT** meaning which is obligation/ necessity (Coates 1983, Perkins, 1983). These modal auxiliaries express a variation in the scale of obligation. Angamuthu (2009) summarized the degree of obligation based on these four modal auxiliaries and this shows in figure 2.4 as following.

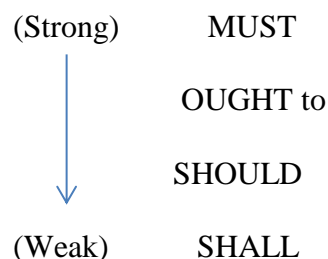


Figure 2.4: degree of obligation

Figure 2.4 indicates that modal auxiliary *SHALL* expresses weak obligation, modal *SHOULD* and *OUGHT* express mediate obligation and modal *MUST* expresses strong obligation or forceful statement of obligation. The modal auxiliary *OUGHT* has a slightly different use from other modal auxiliaries, because it is used with proposition *to*. For instance, “you *OUGHT to* have kept your promise.” Modal *OUGHT* usually is used to express the meaning of duty, necessity, and desirability, and it is rarely used in negation form and interrogative form. (Angamuthu 2009).

Root modality is also closely related to the modal auxiliaries of the semantic cluster of ability/possibility/permission. The modal auxiliary concerned is *CAN*. Modal *CAN* also has 3 possible root meanings: root ability, root permission and root possibility. At it holds different meanings in different context of applications. For instance,

- 1). *CAN* you finish reading this book in one hour? (*CAN*=ability)
- 2). You *CAN’T* talk aloud here. (*CAN*= permission)
- 3). The problem *CAN* be solved. (*CAN*=possibility)

In the sentence 1). *CAN* is used as a root modality with the meaning of “having the ability to do something”. In the sentence 2) modal *CAN* expresses the command of

the speaker to the hearer. “Can’t” is used here with the meaning of “someone is not allowed to do something”. In the sentence 3), modal CAN expresses an inferred assertion that “it is possible that...”.

In English, root modals also play very important role to expressive politeness. For example: CAN/MAY I come in? Both Root modals, MAY and CAN are used to ask permission to show politeness. But, these two modals do have different occurrences. Leech (1971, P.68) states that in formal English, MAY replaces CAN, which is often considered less polite and less correct than MAY. Later, supportive evidence also comes from Coates’s study (1983, P.141), in which it reveals that MAY (permission) mostly is used in more formal context. Furthermore, Leech (ibid) clarifies how authority shifting is found in modal MAY.

For example:

1. You MAY speak now. (You are permitted [by the speaker] to speak now)
2. MAY I come in? (Will you allow me to come in?)

The first sentence is declarative, in which the authority is given by the speaker. However, the second sentence is interrogative, in which the authority is given by the person who is questioned. In Coates’s study (1983), she finds out in the interrogative, MAY is restricted to co-occur with first person subject. The interrogative sentence “MAY I...?” is not a true question but usually used pragmatically to show hedged performative.

Despite the range of meaning covered by Root modal auxiliaries, their essential unity is confirmed by the syntactic patterns associated with them, which differentiate them from their epistemic counterparts. As pointed by Coates (ibid, p.21), the

distinguish features carried by Root modal auxiliaries are, i.e. having animate subject, agentive verb, and passive voice.

In a sum, both epistemic modal auxiliaries and Root modal auxiliaries are considered as a complex semantic system, and they are fuzzy in connotations and extensions. Palmer (1990, p.17) states wide discussions about modal auxiliaries indicates of the complexity of the issue and of the difficulty of achieving any completely simple and convincing analysis. Holiday (1985) proposes that recognizing the context of modal auxiliaries occurring is the key to interpret meanings and functions of modal auxiliaries. Following this, Leech and Coates (1980) suggests that even though, each modal auxiliary carries a range of meanings, in a given context, a specific meaning can be identified as the most feasible. This is echoed by Hare (1990), by saying that interpreting modal auxiliaries cannot get away from identifying the particular context where the modal auxiliary occurs. Therefore, identifying modal auxiliaries should be based on the particular context that they are used in. In this study, modal auxiliaries are analyzed in the context of persuading voters in the Barak Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches. Thus, the discussion of modal auxiliaries should be closely related to this particular context. Identifying this particular context can help the researcher to explore the most feasible meaning carried by the modal auxiliary.

### **2.3. Previous studies on English modal auxiliaries from different perspectives**

The previous section helps to show why the discussion of English modal auxiliaries is the one of the complex items in English grammar system, and one of the areas where many studies have been made. In this section, the researcher presents a review about the previous studies on the use of modal auxiliaries from different perspectives. It is hoped



to present readers a clear pictures of what other researchers have been done and achieved in the past.

Hyland (1998) conducts a study on analyzing hedging in scientific research articles. In scientific research articles, epistemic modal auxiliaries are used as main hedging device to indicate the writer's decision to recognize alternative voices and view. From his analysis, it points out that in science texts, the epistemic modal auxiliaries with lower value of certainty, i.e. MAY, WOULD and COULD, are frequently used, while, the modals with highly inferential certainty, i.e. MUST and WILL, are relatively less used. As pointed by Hyland, the purpose of scientific writing is to interact with readers, in which involves writers try to influence readers by persuading them of the correctness of the writers' claims. Hence, hedging, in such genre, implies that statement is more based on the writer's plausible reasoning. And, it emphasizes the subjective of a position by allowing information to be presented as an opinion. Using the modal auxiliaries with lower certainty, i.e. MAY, WOULD, and COULD, enables writers to avoid making fully committed to the certainty of the given information. This finding also corresponds with Rounds' study (1982). Rounds (1982) asserts that hedging is one of the most common features in academic writings. It allows writers to express their certainty or uncertainty towards their statements and to show their confidence on their claims. Rounds has pointed out that in the epistemic sense, the modal MAY is used mostly as hedging device in academic writings.

Angamuthu (2009) carries out a study on analyzing the use of modal auxiliaries in self-help texts. Under Coates's theoretical framework (1983), Angamuthu analyzes how self-help writers use modal auxiliaries in the context of giving advices in self-help texts. There are eight modal auxiliaries are taken into account in this pioneer study, by which

means CAN, COULD, MAY, MIGHT, SHALL, SHOULD, OUGHT and MUST. The research findings reveal that the modal auxiliaries CAN and COULD have the highest occurrences in self-help texts, in terms of giving advices to readers. The modal auxiliary CAN denotes the Root meaning of ability, which refers to both physical and mental ability. The modal CAN in many ways foregrounds the readers' ability to do something either physically or mentally thus empowering them to take charge of their lives.

Comparing Angamuthu's study (2009) and this present study, they do share something in common, both of these two studies analyze modal auxiliaries from semantic perspective and also apply Coates' semantic clusters as research framework. However, in Angamuthu's study, modal auxiliaries WILL and WOULD are excluded. This two modals express the futurity, which are always involves an element of doubt or uncertainty, and it inevitably overlaps with modality. In this current research, these two modal auxiliaries will be taken into account. The meanings associated with modal WILL are those of "willingness", "intention", "predictability" and "prediction" (Coates, 1983, p.169). The researcher strongly believes that analyzing modals of futurity could reveal how presidential candidate modulates guarantee: to signal stronger and weaker commitment to the futurity of statements. This is why these two modal auxiliaries are included in current research.

Chakrabarty (2010) conducts a study on analyzing how epistemic modality is used by politicians in the context of discussing controversial issues in a TV talk show. She finds out that the modal of low certainty WOULD is mostly used by politicians during the public interview. It has occurred 25 times out of 61 (40.98%). Such a high frequently use of modal WOULD indicates that politicians prefer to express low certainty while they are talking about sensitive political events. The modal CAN

(express meaning of dynamic) and WILL (express the meaning of volitional) also occur more often than other epistemic modals, with the percentage of 19.67% and 16.39%, respectively. The use of modal CAN/WILL indicates the speaker has the authority to express his/her ability or volition in issuing orders or carrying out an operation. The modal SHOULD, with the occurrence of 8 times (13.11%), is used to indicate duties and obligations, as for the speaker could issue commands to the audience or influence audiences with their power of persuasion. However, none of the speakers use modal MUST, MAY and SHALL during the whole process of TV interview. For none-occurrence of modal MUST and SHALL, the plausible reason is that modal MUST and SHALL are modals which are used to express strong obligation and necessity. And when all speakers face to the public, none of them want to use these two modals to emphasize commitment which indicates that whatever is uttered is not forced on the audience as mandatory actions. While, for the none-use of modal MAY, no detailed explanation is provided.

Chakrabarty's study is quite interesting. It shows that when the politicians appear in the TV interview, they face the public, and they have to consider the impact of their linguistic choices in their utterances. The mostly used modal WOULD indicates that all those politicians are not convinced and committed with their own truth propositions while taking about sensitive events. Even though, within the circumstance, they know what exactly happens, they preferred to use strategies to "hide" their true thoughts. This empirical study also supports the claim made by Fairclough (2001) that studying the use modal auxiliaries is a part of exposing one's value system.

Gustilo (2011) conducts a study on analyzing how modal auxiliaries are used in Philippine English Newspapers. In his study, there are nine English modal auxiliaries

are taken into account, by which means WILL, CAN, WOULD, SHOULD, MAY, COULD, MUST, MIGHT and SHALL. His study is made use of five text categories sourced from newspapers in the data bank of Philippine component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-PHI). The five categories are: skills and hobbies, editorials, news reports, humanities, and social science. The findings reveal that modal WILL is the mostly used in journalistic texts. Modal auxiliaries CAN, COULD MAY and MIGHT all denote possibility, but modal CAN and MAY are more predominately used than COULD and MIGHT. However, the researcher fails to explain why modal COULD and MIGHT has received relatively less attentions in the journalistic texts. Modal SHALL is less used in newspaper and it restricted used with first person subject. This finding also corresponds with Coates' statement (1983, p.185). She claims that in everyday spoken language, SHALL is virtually restricted to first person subject. For Modal MUST and SHOULD, they are both attached to meaning of obligation. However, the modal SHOULD is more frequently used than modal MUST. Modal SHOULD not only can be used as the modal of weaker counterpart of MUST, but also can be used to give advice. The most interesting finding is that the Modal WOULD has the most functions in newspaper articles. It can be used as past tense of WILL to signify past prediction, as hedge device to express non-assertion, as hypothetical marker to describe unreal conditions, and also used pragmatically to express politeness.

Lillian (2008) conducts a study to compare that how modal auxiliaries are used in two Canadian political texts, in terms of persuading readers to support their political views. Both of these two authors of those texts, Segal and Gairdner, are claimed as conservative, however, they hold totally different political positions. Lillian's study reveals that both of these two authors employ equivalent number of epistemic modal auxiliaries, however, they use strikingly different numbers of Root modal auxiliaries

which denotes the meaning of desirability (i.e. SHOULD/WOULD), obligation (i.e. SHOULD/OUTHG/MUST/HAVE to), and permission (i.e. MAY/CAN). She argues that the marked difference of using Root modals indicates authors' implicit intention. One of the authors, Gairdner uses the Root modals such as SHOULD/UGHT/MUST, more than two times the rate than the other one, Segal uses them. This finding indicates that the persuasion contains in Gairdner's book is more like to tell readers what they should do and persuade them to adopt and pursue his agenda, which more towards to manipulation, while the persuasion contains in Segal's just refers to persuade readers to support his political view. Lillian's study also reveals that the more uses of Root modals, the stronger persuasion conveyed, therefore, the use of Root modals can be a linguistic device of persuasion and manipulation. In Lillian's study, she pays more attention on comparing the use of Root modals in political texts between those two authors. Therefore, there is no detailed analysis on the use of epistemic modals. In current study, both Epistemic and Root modals are taken into consideration.

Bista (2009) conducts a study to analyze the use of modal verb CAN in Obama's speeches. As it is known, that the phase "yes, we can" is the most famous and influential slogan in Obama's 2008 campaign speeches. This phrase is used as the most powerful rhetorical device in his speeches. The modal verb CAN denotes various meanings, such as ability, promise, possibility, and permission.

For example:

1. *yes, we **can** heal this nation.*

(we all have the **ability** to make this nation better.)

2. *The market **can** spin out of control.*

(There is a **possibility** that external circumstances allow the market spin out of control)

3. *I **can** make sure that ...*

(I am able to make a **promise**...the use of CAN refers to the ability of the subject)

4. *All this we **can** do. All this we will do.*

(we are **capable of** doing such things)

Furthermore, Modal verb CAN occurs so frequently with first person plural pronoun “we” which denotes a collective force or unity. The phrase “we can...” further suggests that “we” should all help and stand by each other to work together as one nation to overcome any challenge. The frequently use of “we can” increases the faith and bring the bright side of all audiences. Bista (2009) also points out that the phrase “yes, we can” emerges in different genres, such as fairy tales, children’s story book, music videos, and animate TV shows, etc.. The use of phrase “yes, we can” is meaningful in every context, because the modal CAN denotes the meaning of opposite to cannot, which indicates significantly positive. Therefore, the modal auxiliary CAN can be used as linguistic device to express encouragement and inspiration. There is no doubt that modal CAN can also be used as rhetorical device which makes the speech more influential and persuasive. Bista’s study is interesting, but he only focuses on analyzing the modal CAN. In other words, the functions of the rest of modals used in his speeches have been neglected. The researcher believes that the rest of modal verbs still play significant roles in Obama’s speeches, in terms of persuading, encouraging and inspiring people. Hence, in this present study, more modal auxiliaries are taking into account.

In the comparative study of Shayegh (2012), she investigates how modality is manifested differently in the political discourse of Barak Obama and Martin Luther King. She finds out modal MUST which signals obligation, is used mostly in the King’s

speeches. The purpose for Martin to give public speeches is to appeal to people to protest against the Vietnam War. In his speeches, modal MUST always co-occurs with first person plural pronoun “we”. The repeated use of phrase “WE MUST” indicates that the speaker (Martin) wants to let people realize the urgency of the issue and seeks the approvals, supports and cooperation from addressees. While in Obama’s speeches, the mostly used modal auxiliary is WILL. Modal WILL denotes the meaning possibility/prediction which arises from reality. The event of WILL can be considered as the matter of being assured and its failure to occur is inconsistent (Joos, 1964, p. 156). The frequently use of modal WILL in Obama’s speeches indicates that he tries to insist on the validity of information in terms of probability and usuality. From Shayegh’s study, it is also can be identified that speakers usually choose different modal auxiliaries in their utterances in order to fulfill the different communication functions.

Shayegh and Nabifar (2012) adopt CDA to explore how ideology and power is manifested in Obama’s interviews. They find out that Obama uses many modal auxiliaries in his interviews to express his attitudes towards different issues. Generally, modals of low certainty are used mostly in his discourse, i.e. MAY, MIGHT, and COULD, while modals express high certainty are used with low rank, i.e. MUST, OUGHT, HAS/HAVE TO. They points out that modal verbs which contain low certainty are mostly used to show politeness, for instance “WOULD you...” or “this COULD be...”. Their findings reveal that Obama uses modal verbs of low certainty as means to shorten the distance between he and the audiences and make audience more easily to understand and accept his political views. In the study of Shayegh and Nabifar (2012), analyzing the use of modal auxiliaries is not the main concern. This is why they do not illustrate how modal auxiliaries are used by Obama to express his person stances.

In this study, the detailed investigation will be carried out to examine how modal auxiliaries are used as persuasion strategies in Obama's campaign speeches.

These previous studies have been done to build up readers' construction of knowledge on how modal auxiliaries are used in different contexts. After reviewing these previous studies, the researcher does believe there is a need to conduct the current research. The plausible reasons may be argued as: Firstly, the current research solely focus on the present modal auxiliaries in Obama's 2012 president campaign speeches, therefore, a detailed investigation is carried out to analyze the use of modal auxiliaries in the selected speeches; secondly, in this study, modal auxiliaries is discussed from semantic perspective, which means analyzing the natural meaning and functions of modal auxiliaries used in a particular context is the main concern, therefore it would reveal how different modals are used to fulfill different functions; thirdly, in this study, both epistemic modal and Root (Non-epistemic modals) are analyzed. It is hoped this research can make a further development of the study on English modal verbs.

#### **2.4. Conclusion**

This chapter provides readers a better understanding about the concept of public speeches and persuasion. It is followed by detailed reviewing previous studies about modality and modal auxiliaries. Next, the discussion focuses on the scale of modal auxiliaries in relation of degree of possibility and degree of obligation by Coates (1983). Moreover, this chapter also provides the review of previous studies on analyzing the use of modal auxiliaries from different perspectives. The next chapter describes the theoretical framework adopted for this study as well as the methodology of the study.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0. Introduction**

As stated in chapter One, this study is an attempt to examine how the modal auxiliaries are used in Barack Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches, in the context of conveying his political desires, attitudes and intentions so that he can successfully persuade voters. Section 3.1 discusses about the theoretical framework adapted in this study. Section 3.2 provides detailed explanation about research design, in terms of data collection, data organization and data categorization.

#### **3.1. Theoretical framework**

Coates's semantic categorization of modal auxiliaries (1983) is adapted into current paper. She has carries out an investigation of modal auxiliaries in the form of large-scale corpus, both written and spoken. She finds out that certain modal auxiliaries share certain semantic meanings. This finding corresponds with Palmer's suggestion (1979a as cited in Perkins, 1983, p.27), by which he says that "we can look for a fairly general common meaning or a set of closely related meanings for each modal."

In Coates' study (1983), she has carefully introduced the term semantic cluster in analyzing the modal auxiliaries. Based on her study, it has been pointed out that modal auxiliaries can be classified into groups according to underlying semantic structures and the paraphrases or meanings given belong to the same group. The semantic clusters are clearly distinct and can be associated with semantic concepts such as: obligation/necessity, intention/prediction/futurity, possibility/ability/permission and epistemic possibility (ibid, p.27). Each semantic cluster is made of modal auxiliaries

which share the same meaning and fulfill the same function. The semantic cluster is accompanied with the belonging modal auxiliaries. In the semantic cluster of obligation/necessity, the members include modal SHOULD, MUST and OUGHT. In the semantic cluster of intention/prediction/futurity, the members include modal WILL, WOULD and SHALL. In the semantic cluster of possibility/ability/permission, the members include modal CAN and COULD. In the semantic cluster of epistemic possibility, the members include modal MAY and MIGHT. The various meanings and function of these modal auxiliaries according to Coates (1983) are presented below.

**Table 3.1 the semantic meaning of modal auxiliaries according to Coates (1983)**

Semantic cluster	The modal auxiliaries	Semantic meaning	Paraphrase
Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	CAN (p.93)	ability	It is able to...(inherent properties allow x to do)
		possibility	It is possible that...(external circumstances allow x to do)
		permission	It is permissible...(human authority/rules and regulations allow x to do)
	COULD (p.107)	<b>Epistemic possibility</b>	It is possible that...
		<b>Past of can</b>	
		-root ability	X was able to
		-root possibility	It was possible for
		-root permission	It was permissible for
		<b>Remote of can (conditional)</b>	
		-root ability	X would be able to
		-root possibility	It would be possible for
		-root permission	It would be permissible for

**Table 3.1 continued**

semantic cluster	The modal auxiliary	Semantic meaning	Paraphrases
Modals of epistemic possibility	MAY (p.132)	<b>Epistemic possibility</b>	It is possible that...
		<b>Root meaning</b> -root possibility -root permission	It is possible for... It is allowed to...
		<b>benediction</b>	It is hoped that...
	MIGHT (p.147)	<b>Epistemic possibility</b>	It is possible that...
		<b>Past of MAY</b> -root possibility -root permission	It was possible for x X was allowed to...
		<b>Remote of MAY</b> -root possibility -root permission	It would be possible for x It would be permissible for x

**Table 3.1 Continued**

Semantic cluster	The modal	Semantic meaning	Paraphrase
Modals of necessity/obligation	SHOULD (p.58)	<b>Epistemic</b>	I think it is probable that... (based on the facts known to the speaker)
		<b>Root</b>	<b>Weak sense</b>  Subjective=advise Objective=describing correct procedure.  <b>Strong sense</b> Meaning of moral obligation
		<b>Epistemic hypothetical meaning</b>	Intend to do x (unreal condition)
	OUGHT (p.70)	<b>Epistemic</b>	I assume that/probability
		<b>Root</b>	I advise you/it is advisable
	MUST (p.31)	<b>Epistemic</b>	It is necessary for (logic necessity)
		<b>Root</b>	It is obligatory for...

**Table 3.1 Continued**

Semantic cluster	The modal	Semantic meaning	Paraphrase
Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	WILL (p.170)	<b>Epistemic meaning</b> Predictability	I (confidently) predicate that it is the case of p (prediction refers to an event in the present)
		Prediction	I predict that...(event happen in the future.)
		<b>Root meaning</b> Root volition	Someone is willing/wants /intents to do x
	WOULD (p.205-206)	<b>Epistemic meaning</b> <b>Past of WILL</b>	
		Predictability	X confidently predict that WAS/ it is predictable that ....
		prediction	X predicted that y (indirect or free indirect speech)
		<b>Root meaning</b> <b>Past of WILL</b> -root volition	Was willing to/ wanted/intended to x
		<b>Hypothetical meaning</b>	
		-hypothetical of root WILL=volition	Hypothetical form of root WILL=Willing to/intent to
		-hypothetical form of WILL=prediction	If x, you will y (WOULD +infinite)
	SHALL (restricted to first person subject) (p.186)	<b>Epistemic meaning</b>	
		prediction	it is predictable that/or interpreted as markers of futurity
		<b>Root meaning</b>	
		-root intention	-I intent to do x
		-Addressee's volition	-Do you want me to do x...
		-root obligation	-It is obligated to do (formal legal text)

Discussion of the negation of modal auxiliary is also included in this study. Coates (ibid.) has points out that if the modal expresses Root meaning, the negation effects the modal predication, and if the modal expresses epistemic meaning, the negation effects the main predication. Discussion on the negation of selected modal auxiliaries will imply the relationship between the modal negation and the certain kind of persuasion expressed. As following, the table 3.2 sets out the negated modals, with the respective paraphrases to show the difference between Root and epistemic modality.

**Table 3.2: Negation of modal auxiliaries according to Coates (1983, p.238)**

Epistemic/ Root	The negation	Modal prediction	Main prediction
Epistemic modals	I MAY not do x	It is possible	that I will <b>not</b> do x
	I MIGHT not do x		
	I WON'T do x	It is predictable	that I will <b>not</b> do x
	I SHALL not do x		
	It SHOULDN'T be x	I assume	that I won't be x
	It OUGHT not to be	It is probable	that it is not x
Root modals	I CANNOT do x	It is <b>not</b> permissible	for me to do x
	I MAY not do x	I am <b>not</b> permitted	to do x
	I CANNOT/CAN'T do x	It is <b>not</b> possible	for me to do x
	I CANNOT/CAN'T do x	I am <b>not</b> able	to do x
	I WILL NOT/WON'T do x	I am <b>not</b> willing	to do x
	I WILL NOT/WON'T do x	I do <b>not</b> intend	to do x
	I SHALL not/SHAN'T do x	It is <b>not</b> advisable for me	to do x
	I SHOULD not do x		to do x
	I NEEDN'T do x	It is <b>not</b> necessary for me	to do x

The rationale of adapting Coates's framework (1983) into this study is that, from the researcher's personal view, Coates's semantic indeterminacy approach is more scientific, because it is more consistent with human's cognition. An outstanding point of Coates's study is her self-established two large data corpus containing both written and spoken language and formal and informal situations and both quantitative and qualitative analyses are applied into her study, which makes the findings more convinced. Based on her corpora, she accommodates the richness of comprehensible interpretation of each modal verb and also summarizes their syntactic characteristics, which makes a further development of the study of English modal verbs. In addition, Coates' study includes the modal auxiliaries studied in current research. Hence, in this study, her framework is adapted to analyze the meaning and function of modal verbs presented in presidential campaign speeches.

### **3.2. Methodology**

In this section, the main focus is on discussing data collection, data coding, and data analysing.

#### **3.2.1. Data collection**

In this study, the data corpus consists of fifteen texts of speeches which were delivered by Barack Obama in the 2012 US presidential election campaign. Obviously, all of presidential campaign speeches are oral forms, but it is available for researcher to access written transcript online. As there is no such personal preference and favoritism in the event of data selecting, all the speeches are just randomly selected from the website of <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com> . All of these fifteen selected speeches took place from June, 2012 till November, 2012. These fifteen selected speeches are presented in Appendix 1. Details include: a). detailed written transcript of each speech; 2). the valid website address of each speech.

#### **3.2.2. Data coding**

Data coding is conducted into the following two steps, data organization and data categorization:

##### **3.2.2.1. Data organization**

The purpose of organizing data is to build an index which can easily to identify the position of each present modal auxiliary in data corpus. Based on this purpose, researcher carries out three phases within data organization.

Phase one: label each text as T. hence; the first text is labeled as T1, the second text T2...till to T15.



Phase two: label each paragraph in each text as P. Hence, the first paragraph is labeled as P1, second P2 and so on.

Phase three: label each line in each paragraph as L, hence, the first line is labeled as L1, the second L2 and so on.

After these three phases are carried out, the modal verbs found in each text are easily identified accordingly, for instance, if the index is L3, P8, T9, it tells that the modal auxiliary is in the third line of the eighth paragraph in the ninth text.

There one more thing needs to clarify. As stated in the chapter One, there are only ten modal auxiliaries are taken into account in the current paper, by which means MUST, SHOULD, OUGHT TO, MAY, MIGHT, CAN, COULD, WOULD, WILL, and SHALL. Thus, the rest of modals will not be considered in this study, such as NEED, HAVE TO, DARE, etc. In addition, the discussion of negation form of each modal auxiliary is also included, such as CAN'T, MUSTN'T, and etc.

#### **3.2.2.2. Data categorization**

Modal auxiliaries in the selected texts are grouped by Coates's semantic clusters (1983), which has been discussed in section 3.1. The example of how to code data is shown in the following table 3.3:

##### **TEXT 1**

**Time: July 10, 2012**

**Location: Cedar Rapids, Iowa**

P1

L1 *"Now, unless you've managed to hide your television somewhere for the last*

L2 *year, you **may** be aware that it is now campaign season. (Laughter.) And here in*

L3 *Iowa it seems like it's always campaign season. You guys can't get away from it.*

**Table 3.3: example of data coding**

NO.	Index	Sentence	Modal Auxiliary	Semantic Cluster	Semantic Meaning
1	T1/ P1/ L2	<i>...you <b>may</b> be aware that it is now campaign season.....</i>	MAY	Epistemic possibility	It is possible that ...

This table 3.3 indicates that the first modal MAY is identified in the second line of first paragraph of the first text (index T1/P1/L2). Based on Coates's description of modal MAY, modal MAY belongs to the semantic cluster of epistemic possibility and carries the meanings of “epistemic possibility”/ “root possibility” and “root permission”. However, by referring to the context that the modal MAY occurs, it can be identified that in this particular context, MAY expresses the semantic meaning of epistemic possibility, which is used to show speaker's lack of confidence in the truth of proposition expressed. The modal verb identified in each of those selected speeches is presented in Appendices section II. Based on what have been mentioned above, it shows how data coding is carried out.

### **3.2.3.Data analyzing**

In order to arrive at a more convinced and reliable conclusion, both quantitative and qualitative analysis are required to apply into the current research. Based on the two research questions, data will be analyzed at two levels.

Level One: The first level is quantitative analysis to answer the first research question.

After the data coding (Example has been shown at 3.3), the researcher does the frequency counts of modal auxiliaries that occur in the selected speeches. Discussion the frequency counts of modal auxiliaries is crucial because it provides the general view of distribution patterns of modal auxiliaries in the selected speeches and also presents the relationship between the speeches and the mostly used modal auxiliary. The first level of analysis would include:

- 1). Identify all studied modal auxiliaries used in the selected speeches, including both of their base form and negation forms.
- 2). Identify the frequency counts of modal auxiliaries based on Coates' semantic clusters (1983) to investigate the distribution patterns of modal auxiliaries based on Coates' semantic categorizations.
- 3). Identify the frequency count of each semantic meaning of modal auxiliary in its respective semantic cluster to investigate the variation use of modal auxiliary in the selected speeches.

Level Two: the second level is qualitative analysis to answer the second research question.

Qualitative analysis should follow quantitative analysis. Once the frequency count is done (the previous step), it will provide the distribution patterns of the selected modal auxiliaries in the data corpus, which will support to examine the semantic meanings and functions of these auxiliaries in Obama's campaign speeches. Detailed analysis will be carried out in this level, which can reveal how the choices of modal verbs realize their roles of persuasiveness in president candidate's speeches.

### **3.3. Conclusion**

This chapter has presented a brief discussion about the theoretical framework which is adapted from Coates (1983) and the methodology applied in this study. The following chapter will discuss the findings of the analysis.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS OF STUDY**

#### **4.0. Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to present convinced and reliable analysis based on the research questions:

1. What are the frequency counts of the modal auxiliaries of obligation/necessity, intention/prediction/futurity, possibility/ability/permission, and epistemic possibility in Barack Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches?

2. How the modal auxiliaries are used in the context of persuading people in the selected of Barack Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches?

This chapter involves two sections: 4.1 demonstrate the frequency count of the modal auxiliaries used in Barack Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches; 4.2 demonstrate the use of modal auxiliaries in the context of persuading voters in Obama's campaign speeches.

#### **4.1. Frequency count of modal auxiliaries**

This section is divided into three parts. Firstly, the researcher will identify all the modal auxiliaries used in the data corpus and count their total numbers of occurrences; secondly, the researcher will do frequency count of modal auxiliaries based on Coates' semantic clusters; lastly, the research will do frequency count of each modal auxiliary with different semantic meanings in its respective semantic clusters.

#### **4.1.1.Total number of modal auxiliaries used in Obama’s 2012 presidential campaign speeches**

In this study, the data is taken from fifteen Obama’s 2012 presidential campaign speeches, which consists of 53,000 words. A total of 843 modal auxiliaries have been identified from these fifteen selected speeches. These 843 modals can be considered as valid data for this study, because they all belong to these four semantic clusters related in this study. These four semantic clusters are: obligation/ necessity; ability/possibility/permission; epistemic possibility; and intention/prediction/futurity. The following table 4.1 shows the distribution of modal auxiliaries and their negative forms used in these fifteen selected speeches.

**Table 4.1: Total modal auxiliaries used in selected Obama’s 2012 presidential campaign speeches**

Modal auxiliaries	Total occurrences	Percentage
base form	689	81.7%
Negation form (contracted and uncontracted)	154	18.3%
TOTAL	843	100

Table 4.1 clearly shows that there is a significant different usage between modal auxiliaries and their negation forms. Out of the 843 modal auxiliaries, there are 689 (81.7%) modals used as base form (i.e. WILL, SHOULD, MAY, MIGHT, etc.), while there are 154 (18.3%) modals as used as their negative forms (i.e. WILL NOT, SHOULDN’T MAY NOT, MIGHT NOT etc.). From table 4.1, it shows that in the Obama’s campaign speeches, he prefers to use base form of modals rather than their

negative forms. Plausible reason can be argued as because the base form of modal is associated with affirmative and positive, so more frequent use of base form of modal auxiliaries enables the speaker to give audiences more inspiration and motivation. For example, Bista's (2009) study shows that the modal "CAN" frequently occurs in Obama's 2008 campaign speeches, which is used as the most powerful rhetorical device. He also points out that the use of modal CAN is meaningful in different genres, such as fairy tales, songs, children's stories, etc. Because the modal CAN denotes the meaning of opposite to CANNOT, which indicates significantly positive. Angamuthu (2009) also claims that base form of modal is used more frequently in the genre of self-help texts, in which the context is to give readers advice and to empower them to take charge of their life.

In a short, this section reveals the total number of modal auxiliaries identified in the selected speeches and presents the general view on the distribution patterns of modal auxiliaries and their negative forms. Next section will emphasize frequency counts of modal auxiliaries according to Coates' semantic clusters.

#### **4.1.2. Frequency count of modal auxiliaries based on Coates' semantic clusters**

Section 4.1.2 presents the frequency counts of modal auxiliaries according to Coates' semantic clusters. Based on Coates's (1983, p27) semantic clusters, these total 843 modal auxiliaries are categorized into four semantic clusters, which are obligation/necessity, intention/prediction/futurity, possibility/ability/permission and epistemic possibility. The table 4.2 below shows the frequency counts of modal auxiliaries based on Coates's semantic clusters. The frequency counts include both the base forms of modal auxiliaries and their negation forms.

**Table 4.2: Frequency counts of modal auxiliaries based on Coates's semantic clusters**

No.	Semantic clusters	The modal auxiliaries	The occurrence	Total occurrences	Percentage
1	intention/prediction/futurity	WILL	222	394	46.7%
		WILL NOT	39		
		WOULD	117		
		WOULD NOT	16		
		SHALL	0		
2	possibility/ability/permission	CAN	210	318	37.7%
		CAN NOT	52		
		COULD	26		
		COULD NOT	30		
3	obligation/necessity	SHOULD	80	95	11.3%
		SHOULD NOT	8		
		MUST	5		
		MUST NOT	0		
		OUGHT	2		
4	Epistemic possibility	MAY	21	36	4.3%
		MAY NOT	6		
		MIGHT	6		
		MIGHT NOT	3		
TOTAL				843	100

Table 4.2 clearly presents that the distribution of the modal auxiliaries identified in these fifteen selected Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches based on Coates semantic clusters. It is obvious that modals from these four semantic clusters do not occur evenly. A total number of 843 modal auxiliaries have been identified based on these four semantic clusters.

Firstly, there are 394 occurrences of the modal auxiliaries of intention/prediction/futurity. There are for example, 222 occurrences of modal WILL, 39 occurrences of WILL NOT, 117 occurrences of WOULD, 16 occurrences of WOULD NOT, and no



occurrence of SHALL. In terms of percentage, 46.7% of the modals belong to this semantic cluster. This signifies that modal auxiliaries WILL and WOULD of the semantic cluster of intention/prediction/futurity are predominantly used by Obama in his campaign speeches. The function of WILL and WOULD will be discussed in detail in section 4.2.

Following this are the modal auxiliaries of possibility/ability/permission such as the modal CAN and COULD which account for 37.7% of total occurrences. There are 210 occurrences of modal CAN, 52 occurrences of modal CAN NOT, 26 occurrences of COULD and 30 occurrences of COULD NOT. This occurrence could indicate that the semantic cluster of possibility/ability/permission is also an important aspect in expressing persuasion in Obama campaign speeches. The function of CAN and COULD will be highlighted in section 4.2.

In semantic cluster of obligation/necessity, the member includes modal SHOULD, MUST, and OUGHT. These fifteen selected speeches contain a total of 95 modals belongs to this semantic cluster and it counts for 11.3% of the total modals auxiliaries identified in this study. Throughout the data corpus, the modal auxiliary SHOULD occurs 80 times, and its negation form SHOULD NOT occurs 8 times only. While the modal MUST and OUGHT occurs 5 times and 2 times respectively. It is noted that SHOULD is the mostly used modal auxiliary in the semantic cluster of obligation and necessity. Hence, the use of modal SHOULD in the selected speeches will be discussed in the section 4.2.

Among these four semantic clusters, the modals of epistemic possibility have the least occurrences, which occur 36 times only. In terms of percentage, 4.3% of the

modals belong to this semantic cluster. There are 21 occurrences of modal MAY, 6 occurrences of MAY NOT, 6 occurrences of MIGHT and 3 occurrences of MIGHT NOT. It indicates that Obama does not frequently use the modal auxiliaries of epistemic possibility.

Sum up, this section presents the frequency counts of modal auxiliaries identified in this study of Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches. All modal auxiliaries are grouped into four semantic clusters. These are modals of intention/prediction/futurity, modals of possibility/ability/permission/, modals of obligation/necessity, and modals of epistemic possibility. These modal auxiliaries are arranged according to the hierarchy of their occurrences and carried out by placing the most used to the least used modal auxiliaries in Obama's campaign speeches. The most used modal auxiliaries are the modals of intention/prediction/futurity, followed by the modals of possibility/ability/permission, and the third group is the modals of obligation/necessity. The last group is the modals of epistemic possibility.

It is quite obvious that both modals of intention/prediction/futurity and modals of possibility/ability/permission are most dominant clusters in Obama's campaign speeches. In terms of percentage, nearly 75% of the modal auxiliaries belong to these two semantic clusters. Especially modal WILL, with 222 occurrences (26.3%) and modal CAN, with 210 occurrences (24.9%), are used overwhelmingly in data corpus comparing to other modal auxiliaries in this study. This can be assumed that these two modals play the most significant roles in Obama's campaign speeches.

Apart from the differences among the frequency of these four semantic clusters, there are some differences within each semantic meaning of the modal auxiliaries.

Therefore, in the next section 4.1.3, the focus will be on discussing the frequency counts of each modal auxiliary with different semantic meanings in its respective semantic cluster.

#### **4.1.3. Frequency count of the each semantic meaning of modal auxiliaries in their respective semantic clusters**

In this section, the researcher identifies the different semantic meanings of the modal auxiliaries found in all the speeches and provides their frequency counts.

##### **4.1.3.1. Frequency count on the use of modal verbs in semantic cluster of intention/prediction/futurity—WILL, WILL NOT, WOULD, WOULD NOT**

Table 4.3 below presents the frequency of modals belonging to the semantic cluster of intention/prediction/futurity. This semantic cluster includes 3 modal auxiliaries, namely, SHALL, WILL and WOULD. The modal WILL carries four semantic meanings: epistemic predictability, epistemic prediction, root willingness, and root intention. All these concepts are associated with futurity. Coates (1983, p.173) argues that both WILL=willingness and WILL=intention can be included in the blanket term “volition”. For modal WOULD, it functions as both the past tense form of WILL and as general hypothetical marker. From the analysis carried out, there are total 394 modal auxiliaries identified belonging to the category of intention/prediction/futurity. However, the modal SHALL is mentioned here, but it will not be discussed later, because it does not occur in the selected texts. Details are shown in table 4.3.

**Table 4.3 Frequency count on the use of modal auxiliaries- WILL, WILL NOT, WOULD and WOULD NOT (WOULDN'T)**

No.	The modal auxiliary	The semantic meaning	The frequency	Total
1	WILL	<b>Epistemic</b> prediction	112	222
		<b>Epistemic</b> predictability	33	
		<b>Root</b> volition	77	
2	WILL NOT	<b>Epistemic</b> Prediction	14	39
		<b>Epistemic</b> predictability	11	
		<b>Root</b> volition	14	
3	WOULD	<b>Past tense form</b> Epistemic prediction	10	117
		<b>Past tense form</b> Epistemic predictability	31	
		<b>Past tense form</b> Root intention	33	
		<b>Hypothetical</b> epistemic prediction	25	
		<b>Hypothetical</b> Root volition	18	
4	WOULD NOT	<b>Past tense form</b> Epistemic prediction	10	16
		<b>Past tense form</b> Epistemic predictability	1	
		<b>Past tense form</b> Root intention	-	
		<b>Hypothetical</b> epistemic prediction	4	
		<b>Hypothetical</b> Root volition	1	
TOTAL				394

There are a total number of 222 occurrences of modal WILL. Regarding the total number of 222 occurrences, 112 signify the meaning of prediction, and this followed by 77 signify the meaning of root volition. For the meaning of epistemic predictability, it occurs 33 times. For negation form of WILL, WILL NOT (include WON'T) has much less occurrences comparing to the base form WILL. There are a total number of 39 occurrences of WILL NOT. Among these 39 occurrences, 14 denote the meaning of root volition, 14 denote the meaning of epistemic predictability and 11 signify the meaning of epistemic prediction.

From table 4.3, it is also indictable that there is a wide disparity between the total occurrences of modal WILL and modal WOULD. The modal WOULD has 117 occurrences which is nearly half of the occurrences of WILL. WOULD has two functions, past of WILL and general hypothetical marker. The highest occurrence of WOULD has 74 occurrences altogether is to denote the meaning of past WILL, and of these 74 occurrences, 31 signify the meaning of predictability, 10 signify the meaning of prediction, and 33 signify the meaning of volition. WOULD as general hypothetical marker occurs 43 times. These hypothetical forms are usually used to indicate the proposition is hypothetical and also used as a mark of politeness strategy. Among 43 occurrences of hypothetical meaning, 18 denote the meaning of hypothetical of root volition, and 25 denote the meaning of hypothetical of prediction. For the negation form of WOULD, WOULD NOT (includes WOULDN'T) only occurs 16 times. WOULD NOT is used most when it signify the meaning of past tense form of WILL=prediction and it occurs 10 times. When it is used as hypothetical marker to denote the meaning of prediction and volition, it has 4 occurrences and 1 occurrence, respectively. When WOULD NOT is used as the past tense form of WILL= predictability, it has 1 occurrence only.

#### **4.1.3.2. Frequency count on the use of modal verbs in semantic cluster of possibility/ ability/ permission—CAN, CAN NOT, COULD, and COULD NOT**

In section 4.1.3.2, the discussion is on the frequency counts of modals of possibility/ability/permission. Table 4.4 below shows the frequency count of modals belonging to this semantic cluster. This semantic cluster includes four modal auxiliaries, namely, CAN, COULD and their negation forms. The modal CAN denotes three semantic meanings: possibility, ability and permission. Coates (1983) argues that CAN is the only modal auxiliary which does not express epistemic meanings. All those three

semantic concepts associated with modal CAN express Root meanings. For modal auxiliary COULD, it has three functions: as the past tense form of CAN, as hypothetical form to express Root Possibility in unreal conditions and as epistemic modal auxiliary to express epistemic possibility (synonymous with MAY and MIGHT) (Coates, ibid, p.107). From the analysis carried out, COULD as epistemic modal auxiliary does not occur, so modal COULD=epistemic possibility will not be discussed later. In this study, there are total 318 modal auxiliaries identified belonging to the category of possibility/ability/permission. Details are shown in table 4.3.

**Table 4.4: Frequency count on the use of modal auxiliaries- CAN, CAN NOT (CAN'T), COULD and COULD NOT (COULDN'T)**

No.	The modal auxiliary	The semantic meaning	The frequency	Total
1	CAN	Possibility	106	210
		Ability	52	
		permission	52	
2	CAN NOT	ability	22	52
		permission	17	
		possibility	13	
3	COULD	Epistemic possibility	--	31
		Past form possibility	13	
		Past form ability	3	
		Past form permission	--	
		Remote of can possibility	15	
		Remote of can ability	--	
		Remote of can permission	--	
4	COULD NOT	Past form possibility	7	25
		Past form ability	4	
		Past form permission	-	
		Remote of can possibility	14	
		Remote of can ability	--	
		Remote of can permission	--	
TOTAL				318

There is a total number of 210 occurrences of modal auxiliary CAN. Of these 210 occurrences, 106 occurrences signify the meaning of possibility, 52 occurrences signify the meaning of ability and another 52 occurrences signify the meaning of permission. For the negation form of CAN, CAN NOT (CAN'T) is less used comparing to base form CAN. The occurrences of CAN NOT is about a quarter of CAN, counting for 52 times in total. Among these 52 occurrences, 22 denote the meaning of ability, 17 denote the meaning of permission and the rest of 13 denote the meaning of possibility.

From the table 4.4, it is obvious that there is a wide disparity between the total occurrences of CAN and COULD. COULD occurs 31 times only. As it has been discussed, modal COULD has three functions which denote 7 possible semantic meanings. However, they do not all occur in this study. The modal auxiliary COULD used to express the remote of CAN (hypothetical possibility) has the highest occurrences which is 15 times. This followed by used to indicate past form of CAN (possibility) has 13 occurrences. And the last is to be used to express the past of CAN (ability) has 3 occurrences. For modal auxiliary COULD NOT (include COULDN') occurs 25 times in total. The highest occurrence of COULD NOT occurs 14 times to denote the function of remote of can as the meaning of hypothetical possibility, which can be paraphrased as "if certain conditions were fulfilled, then nothing would prevent x". This is followed by to be used to indicate function of past of can as the meaning of possibility and it occurs 7 times only. Lastly, COULD NOT used to express the meaning of past of CAN (ability) occurs 4 times.

#### 4.1.3.3. Frequency count on the use of modal verbs in semantic cluster of obligation/necessity—SHOULD, SHOULD NOT, MUST, and OUGHT

In section 4.1.3.3, the discussion focuses on the frequency of modal auxiliaries of obligation/ necessity. Table 4.5 below presents the frequency count of modals belonging to this semantic cluster.

**Table 4.5: Frequency count on the use of modal auxiliaries- SHOULD, SHOULD NOT (SHOULDN'), MUST and OUGHT**

No.	The modal auxiliary	The semantic meaning	The frequency	Total
1	SHOULD	<b>Epistemic</b> An assessment of possibility	12	80
		<b>Root</b> suggestion/ necessity	68	
2	SHOULD NOT	<b>Epistemic</b> An assessment of possibility	--	8
		<b>Root</b> obligation	8	
3	OUGHT	<b>Epistemic</b> Tentative assumption	--	2
		Weak obligation	2	
4	MUST	<b>Epistemic</b> Logic necessity	--	5
		Strong obligation	5	
TOTAL				95

Modal auxiliaries: SHOULD, MUST and OUGHT all belong to the semantic cluster of obligation/necessity. All of these three modal auxiliaries express two senses of meanings: epistemic meaning and Root meaning. Epistemic meaning refers to logical necessity and confident inference, while root meaning refers to obligation. However, these three modal auxiliaries express different degrees of confident inference and of obligation. From the frequency counts carried out, it shows that there is a total number of 95 modal auxiliaries identified belonging to the semantic cluster of obligation/necessity. From Table 4.5, it is quite obvious that the distribution of these



modals of obligation/necessity shows a distinct pattern. Modals from this semantic cluster are more frequently used to denote Root meaning, namely obligation and necessity. In terms of obligation, SHOULD occurs 68 times, SHOULD NOT occurs 8 times, MUST occurs 5 times and OUGHT occurs 2 times. Whereas, in terms of epistemic meaning, namely, confident inference, there are only 12 occurrences from modal SHOULD. It is easily identified that the highest occurrence belongs to the modal SHOULD, which signify meaning of weak obligation and necessity. According to Coates (1983, p. 59), unlike modal MUST which demands an action, modal SHOULD is more frequently used to offer suggestions. At its strongest, SHOULD takes on the meaning of moral obligation or duty. The use of modal SHOULD denotes obligation and necessity will be discussed in the section 4.2.3.

#### **4.1.3.4. Frequency count on the use of modal verbs in semantic cluster of epistemic possibility—MAY, MAY NOT, MIGHT and MIGHT NOT.**

In section 4.1.3.4, the discussion is on the division of modal auxiliaries of epistemic possibility. In this semantic cluster, the members are included modal auxiliaries: MAY and MIGHT. Modal MAY and MIGHT signify the meaning of possibility and permission. In terms of possibility, MAY and MIGHT can express both epistemic possibility and root possibility. The difference between these two concepts is that former refers to speakers' lack of confidence in the truth of proposition, while the later refers to describe enabling circumstances (Coates, 1983, p.133). Table 4.5 shows the frequency counts of modal auxiliaries of epistemic possibility based on the semantic meaning of MAY and MIGHT.

**Table 4.6: Frequency count on the use of modal auxiliaries—MAY, MAY NOT, MIGHT, and MIGHT NOT**

No.	The modal auxiliary	The semantic meaning	The frequency	Total
1	MAY	Epistemic possibility	8	21
		Root possibility	13	
		Root permission	--	
		benediction	--	
2	MAY NOT	Epistemic possibility	3	6
		Root possibility	3	
		Root permission	--	
3	MIGHT	Epistemic possibility	3	6
		Past tense form root possibility	3	
		Past tense form root permission	--	
		Remote of may root possibility	--	
		Remote of may root permission	--	
4	MIGHT NOT	Epistemic possibility	--	3
		Past tense form root possibility	--	
		Past tense form root permission	--	
		Remote of may root possibility	3	
		Remote of may root permission	--	
TOTAL				36

After the analysis is carried out, there are 36 modal auxiliaries of epistemic possibility identified throughout all the fifteen selected speeches. Among of these 36 occurrences, MAY occurs 21 times, MAY NOT occurs 6 times, MIGHT occurs 6 times, and MIGHT not occurs 3 times.

Modal MAY can express the meaning of benediction, such as “MAY god bless you”. However, in this study, MAY as benediction has never occurred. It is found out that MAY is most frequently used to denote the meaning of root possibility. In this case, there are 13 occurrences of MAY as root possibility. Following this, is the use of MAY as epistemic possibility in which it occurs 8 times. For its negation form MAY NOT,

there are 3 occurrences used to signify the meaning of epistemic possibility, and 3 occurrences used to signify the meaning root possibility.

The discussion now looks at the modal auxiliary MIGHT. In the present study, MIGHT is only used to denote possibility and there are 9 occurrences in total. Among these 9 occurrences, 3 signify the meaning of epistemic possibility, 3 signify the meaning of past of MAY (root possibility) and 3 occur as negation form WOULD NOT to signify the hypothetical meaning of possibility.

In addition, in this study, neither MAY nor MIGHT is used to denote meaning of permission. One of the possible reasons for this distribution pattern is that maybe permission is delivered in these speeches with the use of modal auxiliary CAN.

To sum up, section 4.1 presents the frequency counts of modal auxiliaries used in selected fifteen Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches, which reveal that the distribution patterns of all modal auxiliaries identified in this study. Apparently, all the modal auxiliaries do not occur evenly throughout all the texts. There are differences among the frequency of the modal auxiliaries of intention/prediction/futurity, modal auxiliaries of possibility/ability/permission, modal auxiliaries of obligation/necessity and modal auxiliaries of epistemic, and apart from such differences, there are also some different frequency counts within each semantic meaning of the modal auxiliaries. In the present study, the modal WILL and CAN are used predominately. WILL is used mostly to signify prediction, and as for CAN, it mostly used to denote possibility.

Plenty of previous studies have shown that the communicative functions are closely associated with the use of modal auxiliaries in a particular context (i.e. Hyland,

1998; Lillian, 2008, Bista, 2009, Angamuyhu, 2009; etc.). In this study, the research aim is to explore how modal auxiliaries are used as linguistic device in the context of persuading voters in Obama's campaign speeches. It should be noted that the way of persuasion can be realized by divers uses of modal auxiliaries. Therefore such various uses of modal auxiliaries should fulfill this particular function. In the next section 4.2, detailed analysis will be carried out to explore how modal auxiliaries are used in the context of persuading voters in Obama's campaign speeches.

## **4.2. Exploration of modal auxiliaries used in Obama's 2012 campaign speeches**

This section is carried out to explore how modal auxiliaries from different semantic clusters are used in the context of persuading voter in Obama's campaign speeches.

### **4.2.1.The use of modal auxiliaries of intention/prediction/futurity—WILL and WOULD**

From the frequency counts carried out from section 4.1, it reveals that the modal auxiliaries of intention/prediction/futurity are mostly used in the present data corpus. The following extracts are taken to present a detailed analysis of how modal auxiliaries, i.e. WILL and WOULD are used in the selected speeches.

#### **4.2.1.1. The use of “WILL” to denote prediction**

According to Coates (1983, p.179), examples of epistemic WILL= prediction can be paraphrased as “someone predicts that....” And the prediction has future time references. Hence, extract 1, extract 2, extract 3 and extract 4 classify the use of WILL as prediction.

Extract 1 (T2, P50, L7-L12)

They will have ad after ad after ad, and all them will have scary voices.  
(Laughter.) Theyll have pictures of me looking all old and -- (laughter) --  
broke down. You've seen those ads. You've seen them. That's what Mr.  
Romney is going to say. That's what the Republicans in Congress will say. And  
that may be their plan to win an election, but it's sure not a plan to create jobs.

WILL used in extract 1 denotes predication. Here, Obama talks about his prediction on his rival Romney's future action in the campaign. This prediction indicates that Obama clearly knows what the next move is going to be taken from the other side. It is noted that modal auxiliary WILL are used four times here, and the repeated use of WILL functions as a reminder which works for reminding all listeners that states referred by main verbs are going to happen soon, i.e. "have ad after ad", "have pictures of me looking all old, etc. . The use of WILL shows Obama's confidence about his assertion. He tries to convince all the audiences that he is going to be uglified in the advertisements and this is just strategy used by Romney to win the campaign.

Extract 2 (T2, P7, L3-L6)

And the next President and the next Congress will face a set of decisions -- on the economy, and on the deficit, and on taxes -- that will have an enormous impact on this country not just today but the country that we pass on to our children.

Modal WILL used in extract 2 denotes prediction, which can be paraphrased as "I confidently predict that..." Like extract 1, modal WILL used here also expresses the speaker's confidence in the truth of the proposition as well. The function of using modal

WILL is to remind voters what kind of decisions that the next president and next Congress are going to make and these decisions are going to have a huge impact on this country. By talking about the future works of next president and next Congress and the influence of their works, Obama wants all the listeners to be aware of how crucial and meaningful of their choices are, because their decisions are closely related to the future of the nation and even can make difference for their next generations. Therefore, Obama persuades all listeners to take this presidential election seriously.

Extract 3 (T4, P18, L5—L10)

And so by the end of this summer, more than 30,000 of our troops will have come home. Next year, Afghans will take the lead for their own security. In 2014, the transition will be complete. And even as our troops come home, we'll have a strong partnership with the Afghan people, and we will stay vigilant so Afghanistan is never again a source for attacks against America.

Extract 4 (T5, P17, L1—L3)

They want to add another \$5 trillion of tax cuts on top of that, mostly going to folks who don't need tax cuts and weren't even asking for tax cuts. It will be paid for by gutting our investments in education, our investments in infrastructure, our investments in research and development; voucherizing Medicare.

The modal WILL in extract 3 and 4 denotes predication as well. In these two extracts, Obama makes the prediction about the possible outcomes of the further plan which is carried out by the two parties, democrats and republicans respectively. The use of WILL as prediction in extract 3 and 4 foregrounds the different visions of the future America.

Obama wants to get all listeners involved in a comparison, and let them to decide which path is going to make America move forward.

It is noted that there are more modal WILL used in extract 3, comparing to the extract 4. When Obama talks about his further plan to all listeners, he repeatedly uses modal WILL to depict his government objectives. By doing so, it is easily for listeners to understand his political view. The use of WILL functions as giving promises. Obama tries to convince all listeners that his plan will definitely be carried out in next four years. Therefore, it will increase the confidence of all the listeners towards his government.

In extract 4, the modal WILL is also used to denote prediction, but contrary to extract 3, this prediction functions to depict the outcomes of Romney's future plan. Obama wants to point out based on Romney's policy that he wants to add \$5 trillion of tax cuts on top, it is predictable that the investment in education, infrastructure, in research are going to be gutted. The prediction on Romney's future plan implies that Romney's plan is not appropriate and scientific.

#### **4.2.1.2. The use of “WILL” to denote predictability**

The crucial feature of epistemic WILL signifying predictability is that the speaker makes a claim about the present, in other words, the time reference of the main predication is present. The paraphrase of WILL=predictability can be as “someone confidently predicts that it is the case that ...”The following extract 5 exemplifies the use of WILL as predictability.

#### Extract 5 (T9, P10, L2—L7)

that says if you're acting responsibly and looking after your family, and willing to put in the effort, you can afford a home that you can call your own, you have a job that pays the bills, that you **won't** have to worry about going bankrupt if you get sick, that you **ll** be able to retire with some dignity and some respect. And you **ll** be able to save up enough to help your kids do even better than you did.

In this extract, modal WILL denotes predictability. Here, modal auxiliary WILL is used with second person pronoun “you”, which refers to all the listeners. The phrase “you will...” can be paraphrased as “I (the speaker Obama) confidently predicate it is the case that you are all going to...” In this example, Obama provides a possible scenario about the future life of American people. He tries to encourage all the listeners that the life he talks about is quite predictable, and if they are willing to put in the effort, it definitely will come true. The use of modal WILL as predictability presents listeners hopes and optimism and gives them motivations towards a better future.

#### **4.2.1.3. The use of “WILL NOT” to denote prediction**

Extract 6 exemplifies the use of negation form WILL NOT as prediction. The negative “not” here affects the main prediction and not the modal prediction, and this is the typical feature of epistemic modality (Coates, 1983, p.19). The modal “WILL NOT” can be paraphrased as “it is predictable that something will not take place...”.



#### Extract 6 (T5, P18, L1-L6)

So what I've said is let's say that everybody who makes \$250,000 a year or less, that their taxes **won't** go up -- the incomes taxes **will not** go up a dime. Let's give them some certainty. By the way, that includes 97 percent of small businesses. The Senate passed it; the House, so far, has not. If we get 218 votes out of the House, the vast majority of the country will have certainty next year that their taxes **will not** go up.

In this extract, the use of “WILL NOT” expresses Obama’s stronger commitment about his future plan on taxes. He makes his promise to all the listeners that the taxes are not going to go up but with one expressed condition: “If we get 218 votes out of the House.” In this case, Obama successfully implies the premise and leaves it to the listeners to decipher. From the context, it is easy to identify that the major premise refers to “If we get 218 votes out of the House” which means “if you vote for me”, then the conclusion is “I guarantee that the taxes will not go up.” The use of “WILL NOT” highlights the outcomes of Obama’s plan and also implies that his plan is going to be beneficial for all the listeners. And such attractive offer makes his plan more persuasive.

#### 4.2.1.4. The use of “WILL” to denote volition

Extract 7 and extract 8 exemplify the use of WILL as volition. When modal WILL signifies the meaning of volition, it deals with conscious human action. It refers to describe a state, either the subject’s willingness, or his intention (Coates, 1983, p.173).

Extract 7 (T2, P40, L2—L3)

I have a detailed plan. We'll cut spending we can't afford. We'll strengthen programs like Medicare for the long haul. My plan will stop giving tax breaks to businesses that ship jobs and factories overseas, and start rewarding companies that create jobs and manufacturing right here in the United States of America.

WILL in extract 7 denotes intention, which can be paraphrased as “someone intends to do something”. In this context, the use of WILL=intention more refers to arrangement. Obama uses “we’ll” and “my plan will” is to present all audiences his arrangements about how to rebuild this country or how to cope the problems that the country is facing now. It is noted that the verbs which follows the modal auxiliary WILL are all agentive verbs, i.e. “**cut** spending”, “**strengthen** Medicare”, and “**stop** giving tax breaks”. It can be considered as Obama has committed himself to perform such-and –such. Obama uses the modal WILL signifying intention to present himself as the man of action and to indicate that he has the authority to carry out such actions, thus it creases listeners’ confidence towards him.

Extract 8 (T5, P34, L2—L5)

What I can promise you is that I will always tell you what I think, I'll always tell you where I stand, and I will spend every single day fighting as hard as I know how for you.

In this extract, modal WILL denotes willingness. Which can be paraphrased as “someone wants to do something” Here, the Modal WILL co-occurs with first person pronoun “I” which refers to the speaker, Obama. The use of “*I will*” clearly related to

the fact that the speaker (Obama) is talking about his own willingness to do something. From the context, it is identified that Obama wants to present himself as a thoughtful, sincere and credible person. According to Aristotle (cited in Grice, 2010), the speaker's personal characters can determine his/her persuasiveness. In other words, it is easier for people being persuaded by a good will person. The repeated use of WILL highlight Obama's good wills and therefore makes him more persuasive.

#### **4.2.1.5. The use of “WOULD” as past form of WILL denotes prediction**

Extract 9 exemplifies the use of WOULD as past form of WILL denoting prediction

Extract 9 (T3, P15, L11-L17)

I remember my favorite vacation when I was 11 years old, traveling the country with my grandmother and my mom and my sister. And once in a while we'd rent a car, but a bunch of times we'd just take Greyhound buses. And sometimes we'd take the train and stay at Howard Johnsons. And as long as there was a little puddle of a pool, I'd be happy.

In this extract, Obama talks about one of his vocations happened in his childhood. The modal WOULD is used as past form of WILL and denotes prediction. Semantically, WOULD used as past form of WILL indicates a certain action or state has occurred many times before, which can be paraphrased by “used to” (Coates, 1983, p.209). The modal WOULD is used with first person pronoun “we”, which refers to Obama and his family. The use of “we'd” can be paraphrased as “we used to...” In Obama's campaign speech, he is not only talks about his political policies, but also talks about something relaxed and joyful. Here, he shares his memory of vocation with the audiences and talks about happy things used to happen in his childhood. Through sharing, it enables him

shorten the distance with all the audiences, as well as helps him to build his own candidate's image as amiable and friendly.

#### **4.2.1.6. The use of “WOULD” as past form of WILL denotes volition**

Extract 10 exemplifies the use of WOULD as past form of WILL denoting volition

Extract 10 (T14, P24, L1—L3)

Four years ago, I told you we'd end the war in Iraq, and we did. (Applause.) I said we'd end the war in Afghanistan -- we are. I said we'd refocus on the terrorists who actually attacked us on 9/11, and we have.

In this extract, Obama talks about his promises that he made four years ago. Modal auxiliary WOULD is used to signify the meaning of past WILL=volition. Here, WOULD is used with first person pronoun “we”, which refers to Obama and his government. Coates (1983) points out that WOULD denotes past volition is infrequently used, because the past is known, and what people intended to do in the past becomes relatively insignificant in the light of what is known to have happened (p.207-208). However, the repeated use of “We'd” in Obama's speeches is meaningful. The reason that Obama deliberately mentions what he intended to do in the past is that he wants to highlight that his intentions has been achieved and he has kept his words. The repeated use of WOULD functions as reminder which works for reminding people what he said before. By mentioning the past, Obama successfully introduces himself as an authoritative, honest and trustful person. And such a good personality makes him more persuasive.

#### **4.2.1.7. The use of “WOULD” as hypothetical marker**

Extract 11 exemplifies the use of WOULD denoting hypothetical meaning

Extract 11 (T6, P7, L1—L6)

Now, the bulk of this tax cut would go to the very top. A lot of it would go to the wealthiest 1 percent of all households. Folks making more than \$3 million a year -- the top one-tenth of one percent -- would get a tax cut worth almost a quarter of a million dollars. Now, think about that. Folks making \$3 million a year or more would get a quarter-of-a-million-dollar tax cut.

In this extract, WOULD is used when Obama talks about Romney’s future plan on taxes. From the context, it can be identified that WOULD is used as a hypothetical form of WILL=prediction, which expresses the unreal condition form and it can be paraphrased as” if x, something will y” (Coates, 1983, p.213). In this example, there is no if clause, but the condition is present in the surrounding context. What Obama tries to indicate is “if Romney’s plan is carried out, such-and-such things will happen.” The use of hypothetical WOULD shows Obama’s low certainty and expresses his tentativeness rather than genuine hypothesis. The reason that Obama uses WOULD instead of WILL is to avoid giving impression that he is telling the listeners what definite the case is. The function of using WOULD is to keep his words rigorous and tactful.

#### **4.2.2.The use of modal auxiliaries of possibility/ability/permission—CAN and COULD**

From the analysis carried out in the section 4.1.2, modal auxiliaries of possibility/ability/permission have the second highest occurrences in the selected

speeches. The following extracts are chosen to illustrate how modal auxiliaries: CAN and COULD are used in Obama's campaign speeches.

#### **4.2.2.1. The use of “CAN” to denote possibility**

According to Coates (1983, p.93), when CAN denotes possibility, it can be paraphrased as “external circumstances allows someone to do it”. The following Extract 12 illustrates the use of CAN to denote possibility.

Extract 12 (T1, P3, L1-L6)

The reason we came together was because we shared a belief in the basic bargain that built this country; the idea that if you're willing to work hard, if you're willing to take responsibility, that in this country you can make it. That you can find a job that pays a living wage, and you can save and buy a home. You can send your kids to college so they do even better than you did. You can retire with some dignity and some respect. The idea that no matter where you come from, no matter what you look like, no matter what your faith, no matter who you love, that in America you can make it if you try.

In this extract, the modal CAN illustrates the notion of possibility. The use of CAN in this case is to indicate the possibility of something happening as a result due to one's action. Here, Obama repeatedly uses modal auxiliary CAN to highlight the possibilities, i.e. “find a job”, “save and buy a home”, “send kids to college”, and “retire with dignity”, etc. And of these possibilities expressed by the modal CAN are assigned to second person pronoun “you”. The use of “you can” makes all statements of possibilities involve a specific individual, in this case, which directly point to the listeners. And the phrase “you can” can be paraphrased as “it is possible for you to do

it”. In the context, Obama uses “you can” six times to encourage all the listeners that if they work hard together, and if they are willing to try, they will turn all the possibilities into reality. Thus, using the phrase “you can”, Obama successfully creates positive connotations in the mind of the listeners. The repeated use of CAN functions to remind citizens to look on the bright side.

#### **4.2.2.2. The use of “CAN” to denote ability**

Coates (1983, p.93) points out that ability is the core meaning of modal auxiliary CAN. CAN=ability refers to subject’s innate capabilities and it can be paraphrased as “inherent properties allow someone to do something”. The following extracts illustrate the use of CAN to denote ability.

Extract 13 (T8, P11, L3-L5)

I’ve never said it was going to be quick and easy. What I said was, we can move forward. We can make progress. We can make things better. We can strengthen our middle class. We can rebuild a strong foundation for our economy.

From the context, modal CAN in this extract is identified to denote meaning of ability. The repeated uses of modal CAN are assigned to pronoun “we”, which refers to people in general, here also includes Obama himself. The function of using “we” is to denote a collective force or a sense of unity to highlight the togetherness. Obama frequently uses the phrase “we can” to emphasize that “we” as Americans, are able to do such-and-such, i.e. “move forward”, “make things better”, and “make progress”, etc. The function of the use of “we can” is to encourage all the listeners that they have ability and capacity to

create the life that they want, and it evokes positive emotions among audiences and inspires them towards progress.

Extract 14 (T15, P31, L5-L7)

A President who spends every waking hour trying to figure out how I can make sure that your lives are a little bit better, and more importantly, that all of our children's lives are a whole lot brighter.

CAN in extract signify ability. Different from the extract 13, here, modal CAN co-occurs with the first person pronoun “I”, which refers to the speaker, Obama himself. In this context, “I” exactly refer to Obama’s unique situation as a presidential campaign candidate. Hence, the use of the phrase “I can” signifies Obama’s personal ability. Obama uses the phrase “I can” to express his personal authority in carrying out operations. He wants to convince all the listeners that as a president, he has the ability to make other’s life better. Hence, the function of using modal CAN is to highlight his personal ability and to increase the listeners’ confidence in him.

Extract 15 (T14, P9, L1)

Why should this be hard? Are you for equal pay for equal work? Are you for making sure that laws enforce that basic principle? He can't tell you. I can.

Both CAN and CAN'T in this extract are used to denote ability. Negation CAN'T is assigned to third person pronoun “he”, which refers to republican Romney. Base form CAN is assigned to first person pronoun “I”, which refers to Obama himself. The sentence “he can’t tell you” indicates that Romney is not able to tell American people the answers to those questions. While the last sentence “I can” indicates that comparing



to Romney, Obama is able to provide answers. Obama uses modal “CAN’T” and “CAN” is to conduct a comparison between Romney and himself and aims to foreground Romney’s inability and his ability. By doing so, Obama indirectly entices voters that Romney is not a good choice for leading this country. Hence, the function of using modal CAN is to increase his personal credibility.

#### **4.2.2.3. The use of “CAN” to denote permission**

Extract 16, extract 17 and extract 18 exemplify the use of modal CAN to denote permission.

Extract 16 (T14, P28, L1-L6)

In 18 days, you can choose a foreign policy that gets us into wars with no plan to get out, or you can say let's end the Afghan war responsibly; let's bring our troops home. Let's focus on making sure that we're building America. In 18 days, you can let them turn back the clock 50 years for immigrants, and gays, and women, or we can stand up and say we are a country in which everybody has a place.

In this extract, modal CAN signify personal authority. In this study, the researcher finds out that when modal CAN denotes personal authority, it always co-occurs with second person pronoun “you”. “You” is used in this context referring to all the audiences. The phrase “you can” can be paraphrased as “you have authorities to do something”. In this extract, Obama presents listeners different visions of the future America. He repeatedly uses the phrase “you can” to point out that anyone of you (American people) has the authority to vote for the future president and to decide the future of this country. Thus he persuades all the listeners to get involved in the campaign elections. From this

context, it is easy to identify that the visions of the future America presented by Obama are closely related to the future plans proposed by Governor Romney and himself respectively. The words used to associate with Romney's plan denote negative meaning, i.e. "gets us into wars with no plan to get out" and "turn back". While the words used to associate with his own plan denote positive meaning, i.e. "end the Afghan war", "bring our troops home", etc. Therefore, Obama indirectly entice the target audience that the path proposed by Romney is not a good choice and thus persuade people to vote for himself.

Extract 17 (T5, P24, L3-L4)

Your children can stay on your health insurance plan till they're 26 years old.

Extract 18 (T7, P29, L8-L10)

I think it's the right thing to do for everybody to be able to get preventive care, including women who can have some control over their own health care decisions.

CAN in both extract 17 and extract 18 denote permission. Modal CAN could be paraphrased as "allow" or "permit". Usually, permission is associated laws, rules and regulations. In this case, Obama tries to convince all the listeners that his plan will focus on health care which allows children stay on their parents' health insurance and allows women to control over their health care decisions. The use of CAN highlights the particular permissions that listeners can be granted based on Obama's health care plan. In other words, Obama tries to persuade the targeted audiences by proposing attractive offers. The function of modal CAN highlights Obama's offers and increases the persuasiveness of his proposition.

#### 4.2.2.4. The use of “COULD” to denote past CAN

Based on Coates (1983), the modal COULD is used to signify 1). Epistemic possibility, 2). Past form of modal CAN and 3). remote of modal CAN (hypothetical meaning). From the frequency counts carried out in section 4.1.3.2, modal COULD signifying epistemic possibility does not occur. Therefore, the discussion of COULD= epistemic possibility is excluded in this section. The following Extract 19 and extract 20 exemplify COULD as past form of CAN denotes possibility and COULD as hypothetical marker.

Extract 19 (T1, P7, L3-L6)

Because of the actions that we took, GM is back on top and we're seeing the auto industry rehiring and producing better cars than ever. We helped to stabilize the financial system so small businesses could get help again and get credit and financing flowing again

In extract 19, Modal COULD used as past form of CAN denotes possibility. Based on Coates (1983, p.113), the most clear-cut examples of past tense Root Possibility COULD are those where the “enabling” or “disabling” circumstances are spelled out, in other words, it is the external circumstances effect the outcome of the proposition. In this extract, Obama talks about his policies which have been worked on auto industry. The first person plural pronoun “we” refers to Obama’s government. Obama wants to emphasize that it is “we” (Obama’s government) who created the enabling circumstances which effected the outcomes, namely enable small business “get help again” and “financing flowing again“. The use of COULD refers to a fulfillment of possibility, because the past is already known. The reason that Obama purposefully talks about the known past is to remind all the listeners of his achievements during his

presidential span. By displaying previous accomplishments, Obama tries to convince all audiences his appropriateness and adequacy in reforming and reconstructing economics and thus increases people's confidence towards his government.

#### **4.2.2.5. The use of “COULD” to denote hypothetical meaning**

The following Extract 20 illustrates the use of modal COULD to denote hypothetical meaning.

Extract 20 (T3, P 32, L1-L4)

Yesterday I called on Congress to stop any tax hikes for the 98 percent of Americans who are just like the McLaughlins -- just like you. (Applause.)  
Because if Congress doesn't act, then that tax hike could cost up to \$2,200 for a family of four.

Modal COULD in this extract is used as a hypothetical form, to express Root possibility in unreal conditions. The hypothetical modal COULD can be paraphrased as “if certain conditions were fulfilled, then nothing would prevent x...”, and this in effect means “something prevents x” (Coates, 1983, p.119). In this case, the hypothetical modal COULD occurs with an expressed condition, i.e. “if congress doesn't act” and then the result is that “it is possible that the tax hikes cost up to \$2,200 for a family of four”. In other words, the extract (20) above can be reworded “the tax hikes do not cost up because the Congress conducts a certain action to prevent it happening.” The use of COULD is to express Obama's hypothesis on the possible outcomes of the expressed condition. He chooses hypothetical modal COULD rather than modal CAN or WILL to express his prediction, which implies he has concerned with a possible change in circumstances. Choosing high certainty modal auxiliaries, i.e. WILL, CAN seems a

little bit straightforward for hypothesis. Hence using hypothetical COULD is tactful, as opposed to be blunt.

#### **4.2.3. The use of modal auxiliaries of obligation/necessity – SHOULD, SHOULD NOT, and MUST.**

This section discusses about how modal auxiliaries SHOULD and MUST are used in the selected speeches. The modal auxiliaries SHALL, and OUGHT are not included in the discussion because those modal auxiliaries rarely occur in the present data corpus, i.e. OUGHT occurs twice and SHALL does not occur. From the analysis carried out in section 4.1.3.3, modal SHOULD and MUST are mostly used to denote Root meaning, such as obligation and necessity, therefore the extracts which illustrate the use of SHOULD and MUST to denote Root meaning will be taken out for detailed analysis.

##### **4.2.3.1. The use of “SHOULD” for suggestion purpose**

Extract 21 and extract 22 exemplify the use of modal auxiliary SHOULD to denote suggestions.

Extract 21 (T2, P8, L1-L3)

Governor Romney and his allies --They're patriotic Americans. They've got wonderful families. But they believe that we should go back to the top-down economics of the last decade.

The modal auxiliary identified here is SHOULD, which is used to offer an advice. Modal SHOULD can be paraphrased as “it is advisable that...”. In this extract, the advice is given by “they” which refers to republicans, Governor Romney and his allies, while the addressees are “we”, who refers to people in general, meaning all Americans.

Here, Obama talks about Romney's economic plan. From the context, it can be identified that Obama is not agree with Romney's idea. Obama uses the phrase "go back to the top-down economics of last decade" to associate with Romney's suggestion, which indicates his proposal is out of date. The use of conjunction word "but" show Obama's negative attitude towards Romney's suggestion and also implies that what Romney has suggested is not applicable.

Extract 22 (T3, P 33, L3-L5)

Now, I believe that we should make sure that taxes on the 98 percent of Americans don't go up, and then we should let the tax cuts expire for folks like me, for the top 2 percent of Americans.

In extract 22, modal auxiliary SHOULD is used to denote suggestion as well. Unlike extract 21, here, the suggestion is given by "we", which refer to Obama and his allies, and the addressees are all listeners. Obama uses the modal auxiliary SHOULD twice to depict what he thinks advisable to do. Comparing to Romney's suggestion, Obama's suggestion is more attractive to all listeners, because it seems to meet the wishes of majority of Americans, i.e. "taxes on 98% of people don't go up". The repeated use of modal SHOULD not only makes audiences more easily to understand his suggestions, but also highlights the how his proposal will be beneficial to majority of people, and hence it creases the persuasiveness.

#### **4.2.3.2. The use of "SHOULD" to denote obligation and necessity**

Coates (1983) points out that SHOULD is commonly used to express root modality of (weaker) obligation, thus it is more appropriate to interpret SHOULD as "it is

import/necessary that...” the following extract 23 illustrates the use of modal SHOULD to denote obligation and necessity.

Extract 23 (T14, P8, L3-L6)

But no matter how many times Governor Romney is asked whether or not he supports a law upholding that idea, he refuses to say. Why should this be hard? Are you for equal pay for equal work? Are you for making sure that laws enforce that basic principle?

In this extract, modal SHOULD is used to denote necessity. Here, modal SHOULD occurs after “why”. According to Coates (1983, p.60), the use of “why should” represents an idiomatic usage, and despite the interrogative form of such utterances, they are essentially statements asserting that some state of affairs is NOT necessary. Therefore, the question “why should ...” can be paraphrased with the question “is X really necessary?”

In this extract, the question “why should this be hard?” is asked by Obama and it points to Governor Romney. This question can be paraphrased as “is this really (necessarily) hard for you to answer?”. From the context, it can be identified that this question is asked with an implicit assumption that the answer is NO. Obama wants to point out that the reason that Governor Romney avoids to answer the questions is not because the questions are difficult, but because he is not able to provide appropriate solutions to those problems that America is facing now. Therefore, the rhetorical question “why should this be hard?” highlights Governor Romney’s inadequacy in leading the country.

#### 4.2.3.3. The use of “SHOULD NOT” to denote obligation and necessity

Based on Coates (1983, p.63), the modal SHOULD with a negative form NOT is used to denote weak obligation, it has reference to the present rather to the future, and shows that the speaker’s commitment to the falsity of the proposition expressed in the main predication is explicit. The following extract 24 and extract 25 illustrates the use of SHOULD to denote weak obligation and necessity.

Extract 24 (T4, P37, L6-L9)

According to some estimates, about 18 veterans are taking their lives each day -  
- more every year than all the troops killed in Iraq and Afghanistan combined.  
That's a tragedy. It's heartbreaking. It **should not** be happening in the United States of America.

In the extract 24, “SHOULD NOT” is used to denote weak obligation, which can be paraphrased as “it is not advisable to do something”. In Obama’s 2012 campaign, one of his important political plans is to put American veterans back to work. Here, Obama talks about the present situation about American veterans. From this extract, it is noted that the words used to refer to the situation about American veterans are “tragedy” and “heartbreaking”, which implies that veterans are living in misery. In the last sentence “It should not be happening in the United States Of America”, the modal auxiliary “SHOULD NOT” is used with progressive aspect “be happening”, which indicates that what Obama has described about all the unfortunate things of veterans are happening as the moment of his speaking. The use of “SHOULD NOT” emphasizes the urgency of the issue and highlights the obligatory of preventing such tragedies happening.



Extract 25 (T15, P21, L1-L3)

And by the way, I'm not going to use deficit reduction as an excuse to turn Medicare into a voucher system. (Applause.) Because Americans **should not** be spending their golden years at the mercy of insurance companies.

In extract 25, SHOULD NOT is used to denote necessity, which can be paraphrased as “it is not advisable/necessary ..”. Here, Obama talks about his future plan on Medicare. SHOULD NOT is used with progressive aspect “be spending”, which also indicates that what he has described about the situation of American people is actually happening at the moment of speaking. The last sentence, “Americans **should not** be spending their golden years at the mercy of insurance companies” implies “in fact, they are spending their golden years at the mercy of insurance companies.” The use of “**should not**” indicates that it is not advisable for Americans to worry about their Medicare. In other words, Americans’ Medicare needs to be protected. Such claim seems easily to win listeners’ supports, because it meets their expectations and therefore, it increases the persuasiveness.

#### **4.2.3.4. The use of “SHOULD” to denote tentative assumption**

According to Coates (1983, p.) modal SHOULD expresses a tentative assumption or an assessment of probability, based on the facts known to the speaker. And it can be paraphrased as “I think it is probable...” In present study, SHOULD is not frequently used to denote epistemic, the following extract is the case that modal SHOULD is used to express epistemic meaning.

Extract 26 (T6, P10, L1-L7)

It's a deal that says if we put in enough effort, we **should** be able to find a job that pays the bills. We **should** be able to afford a home that we call our own.

We should have health care that we can count on if we get sick. (Applause.)  
We should be able to retire with dignity and respect. (Applause.) And most of  
all, we should be able to give our children the kind of education that allows  
them to dream even bigger and do even better than we ever imagined.  
(Applause.) That's what we believe. It's a simple promise. It's at the core of the  
American Dream.

Here, modal SHOULD expresses a tentative assumption. From the context, it is noted  
SHOULD is used with the first person plural pronoun “we”, which refers to all  
American people and also includes the speaker, Obama himself. The phrase “we should  
be able to” can be paraphrased as “I think it’s probable for us to be able to”. In this  
extract, Obama talks about the “American Dream”. The use of SHOULD has future  
time reference, because at the last sentence, Obama uses the word “promise” and  
“dream” to refer to all the states which are signified by the main verbs, i.e. “find a job”,  
“afford a home”, “have a health care”, etc.. In other words, such states have not yet been  
achieved.

From the context, it also can be identified that SHOULD signifying assumption  
occurs after one expressed condition, i.e. “if we put in enough effort.” Thus, based on  
what has been mentioned above, this extract of Obama’s speech can be reworded as “if  
we put in enough effort, it is probable for us to be able to do such-and -such”. The  
phrase “we should be able to” occurs five times here and functions to keep reminding  
all the listeners their unrealized dreams and motivate them to keep perusing their  
dreams.

#### 4.2.3.5. The use of “MUST” to denote obligation

Extract27 (T4, P9, L1-L5)

In the crucible of battle, you were tested in ways the rest of us will never know. You carry in your hearts the memory of the comrades you lost. For you understand that we must honor our fallen heroes not just on Memorial Day, but all days. And when an American goes missing, or is taken prisoner, we must do everything in our power to bring them home.

As mentioned in section 2.3.2, modal MUST carries the highest degree of obligation. In this extract, the Modal MUST is used twice to denote obligation. And both of them are assigned with the first person plural pronoun “we”, which refers to all American people. Therefore, the phrase “we must” can be paraphrased as “it is obligatory/ essential for all Americans to do something”. Here, Obama talks about his future plan on helping Veterans again. Different from extract 24, in this particular extract, Obama uses the stronger obligation modal “MUST”. The repeated use of “we MUST” indicates the obligatory and essentiality to carry out a certain action to make it up to those veterans, who have done so many contributions to this country. the use of modal “MUST”, indicates that Obama not only wants listeners to realize the importance of this issue, but also seeks approval and support in his succeeding action: put veterans back to work.

Extract 28 (T12, P5, L4-L6)

But the guy on stage last night, he said he'd never heard of tax breaks for companies that shift jobs overseas. Never heard of them. And he said, if that's true, he **must** need a new accountant.

Modal MUST used in extract 28 denotes necessity, and it can be paraphrased as “it is necessary for...”. Modal MUST is used with third person pronoun “he”, which refers to Governor Romney. The last sentence, “he must need a new accountant.” can be interpreted as “it is necessary for Romney to hire a new accountant”. In this extract, Obama talks about Romney’s policy. The use of “MUST” highlights the necessity and urgent for Romney to find a new accountant. In this case, Obama tries to convince all listeners that Romney’s plan is not scientific and applicable, and this is why it is necessary for him to find a new accountant.

#### **4.2.4. The use of modal auxiliaries of epistemic possibility—MAY and MIGHT**

From the analysis carried out in section 4.1.3.4, the researcher found out that MAY and MIGHT seem to be used predominantly to express root possibility, which can be paraphrased as “it is possible for” or as “circumstances allow x” (Coates, 1983, p. 141). The following extracts are taken out to illustrate how modal MAY and MIGHT are used in the selected speeches.

##### **4.2.4.1. The use of modal auxiliary MAY to denote possibility**

Extract 29 (T11, P9-P10, L1-L9)

Some of you **may** be students trying to work your way through college.  
(Applause.) Some of you **may** be single moms like my mom -- (applause) --

putting in overtime to see if you can provide a better life for your kids. Some of you may be senior citizens who have been saving your whole life for your retirement. Some of you may be veterans who have served this country bravely -- (applause) – soldiers who defend our freedom today. Nobody believes that anyone is entitled to success in this country. We don't believe that government should be helping people who refuse to help themselves. But we do believe in something called opportunity.

In this extract, modal MAY denotes possibility. Modal MAY is used with second person pronoun “you”, which refers to all the listeners. The phrase “some of you may be” can be paraphrased as “it is possible for some of you to be...”. From this context, the phrase of “you may be” refers to the possible social roles that people are playing now in this country, i.e. “students”, “single moms”, “senior citizens” and “veterans” and also the possible problems that those people are facing now, i.e. “trying to work your way through college”, “, putting in overtime to see if you can provide a better life for your kids”, “saving your whole life for your retirement”, etc.. All those possibilities expressed by modal MAY are logically inherent in the society. The use of MAY indicates that Obama tries to convince all listeners that don't pay attention to the personal status. It does not matter who they are, but it matters that people should believe in the opportunity of being successful.

#### **4.2.4.2. The use of “MAY NOT” to denote possibility**

Extract 30 (T15, P14, L10-L11)

And we may not have gotten every single thing done that we need to get done, but I have kept the commitments and the promises that I made.

In this extract, MAY NOT denotes possibility. Here, MAY NOT is used with first person plural pronoun “we”, which refers to Obama’s government. Obama talks about his achievements during his presidential span in 2008. The sentence “we may not have gotten every single thing done...” be paraphrased as “possibly it is the case that we have not done every single thing that...”. According to Coates (1983, p.133), modal auxiliary MAY is characterized by subjective, and perhaps most importantly, by its use as a “hedge”, which implies that speaker avoids committing himself to the truth of the proposition. Hence, in this case, the use of “MAY NOT” functions as a hedge device to enable the speaker, Obama avoids committing himself for the truth that his government has not done everything which they need to do. He tries to shift listeners’ attention to focus on what he has achieved in the past, by doing this, it increases his personal credibility.

#### **4.2.4.3. The use of “MIGHT” to denote possibility**

Based on Coates (1983), MIGHT is used both as a past form of MAY, and as a “remote” form of MAY to express hypothetical meaning. From the frequency counts carried out in section 4.1.3.4, it is found that MIGHT is not frequently used in the present data corpus. Extract 36 is taken out to illustrate the use of MIGHT to denote possibility.

Extract 31 (T14, P20, L3-L4)

If you say you're for equal pay for equal work, but you keep refusing to say whether or not you'd sign a bill that protects equal pay for equal work -- you **might** have Romnesia.

In the extract, MIGHT is used to denote subjective epistemic possibility, which can be paraphrased as “it is possible that...” or as adverbs like “perhaps” and “maybe”. Here, Obama satirizes Governor Romney by saying that he maybe has Rommesia. Because Romney is described as forgetting what his positions are. Therefore, Obama wants to persuade all listeners that Governor Romney is not a trustworthy person. The function of MIGHT is used as hedge device to express the assessment of possibility as roughly 50/50. The linguistic choice of MIGHT indicates Obama wants to avoid making any commitments to the factuality of his utterance. Therefore the modal auxiliary MIGHT is a better choice used to express tentativeness.

#### **4.3. Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the analysis carried out in the present study. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section focuses on discussion of the frequency counts of modal auxiliaries based on Coates’ (1983) semantic clusters. These four semantic clusters are: modals of prediction/intention/ futurity, modals of possibility/ability/permission, modals of obligation/necessity, and modals of epistemic possibility. The second section presents a detailed analysis of the use of modal auxiliaries in the selected speeches. From the analysis carried out, it is found that different modals are used to fulfill different communicative functions. The mostly used modals are WILL and CAN. The Modal WILL signifying prediction is frequently used to describe the future plans of Obama’s government, while modal CAN signifying possibility is used to evoke positive emotions in the mind of all people. The conclusion of this study will be presented in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

#### **5.0. Introduction**

This study explores the use of modal auxiliaries in the context of persuading voters in the fifteen selected Barack Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches. The modal auxiliaries selected for analysis include WILL, WOULD, CAN, COULD, MUST, SHALL, SHOULD, OUGHT, MAY, and MIGHT

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the main findings as a whole and gives an overview of the general findings emerging from the analysis carried out. The second section deals with main contributions of the current study and the last section is to provide recommendations for further research.

#### **5.1. Summary of main findings**

##### **5.1.1. Patterns of distribution**

There is a total number of 843 modal auxiliaries identified in these fifteen Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches. All of these 843 modal auxiliaries are considered as valid data, because they are all from the four semantic clusters defined by Coates (1983): obligation/ necessity; ability/possibility/permission; epistemic possibility; and intention/prediction/futurity. Among these 843 modal auxiliaries, 689 are used as base form (WILL, COULD, WOULD, etc.), while 154 modal auxiliaries are used as negation form (WILL NOT, COULDN'T, WOULDN'T etc.). The possible reason might be because the base form of modal is associated with affirmative and positive, so more frequent use of base form of modal auxiliaries enables the speaker to give audiences more inspiration and motivation.



Based on the frequency counts, the researcher found out that the modal auxiliaries identified differ in terms of frequency count. The findings show that the modals of intention/prediction/futurity have the highest occurrences, i.e. 394 occurrences in total. The semantic cluster intention/prediction/futurity includes the members of WILL and WOULD. The finding reveals that there is a wide disparity between the main function of WILL and WOULD. WILL is used mostly to denote prediction, and for the modal auxiliary WOULD the main function is to denote past intention.

The second highest occurrences of the modal auxiliaries are those belong to semantic cluster of possibility/ability/permission, which includes modal CAN and COULD. There are altogether 319 occurrences of modal auxiliaries are from this cluster. The modal auxiliary which is mostly used under the semantic cluster of possibility/ability/permission is CAN, and CAN is used most frequently to denote possibility.

Follows this, the modals of obligation/ necessity such as SHOULD, MUST and OUGHT, have 95 occurrences. The distribution of modal auxiliaries from this semantic cluster shows a distinct pattern. Among the total 95 occurrences, SHOULD occurs 80 times. In this study, SHOULD is used mostly to signify root meaning, i.e. giving suggestion and weak obligation.

Among these four semantic clusters, the modals of epistemic possibility have the least occurrences, which occur 36 times only. Modal MAY and MIGHT belong to this cluster. From the analysis carried out, MAY is the preferred modal compared to MIGHT to denote possibility.

Discussion on frequency counts of modal auxiliaries used in the selected speeches is crucial for the present study. Based on the frequency counts, it reveals the distribution patterns of the modal auxiliaries identified in the selected speeches and also presents the relationship between the speeches and the mostly used modal auxiliaries. From the frequency counts carried out, the researcher found modal auxiliary WILL and CAN are used predominately in Obama's campaign speeches, i.e. 222 occurrences (26.3%) and 210 occurrences (24.9%), respectively. Modal WILL is used mostly to signify prediction, and as for modal CAN, it mostly used to denote possibility.

### **5.1.2. The use of modal auxiliary in campaign speeches**

As mentioned in the chapter 2 (section 2.3.3.2), modal auxiliaries are polysemants. Modal auxiliaries occur in different contexts express different meanings. In current study, the research aim is to explore how modal auxiliaries are used as linguistic device in the context of persuading voters in Obama's campaign speeches. It should be noted that the way of persuasion can be realized by diverse uses of modal auxiliaries. Thus the division of modal auxiliaries according to their various functions is vital for this study.

The findings of this study show that modal auxiliary WILL in the semantic cluster of intention/prediction/ futurity plays an important role in Obama's campaign speeches. This might be due to the nature of the campaign speeches which aim to persuade addressees to vote. In addition, WILL signifying prediction is mostly used in Obama's speeches, which functions to depict the Obama's future plans. WILL in many ways foregrounds the objectives of Obama's government and it functions as a promise thus it increases the addressees' confidence towards his government. Even though, WILL signifying volition does not occur as frequently as WILL signifying prediction, WILL=volition is also an important aspect in Obama's speeches. The researcher found

out that when WILL is used to signify volition, it is used with first person pronoun “we” and “I”, referring to Obama’s government and Obama himself. Obama uses of WILL=volition to express his intentions and arrangement about how to rebuild the country. WILL=volition functions to imply that Obama is a man of action and increase his personal credibility.

For modal auxiliary WOULD, the researcher found that the WOULD is mostly used as past form of WILL=volition. In the study of Coates’ (1983), she points out that WOULD denotes past volition is infrequently used, because the past is known, and what people intended to do in the past becomes relatively insignificant in the light of what is known to have happened (p.207-208). However, the use of WOULD as past form of intention in Obama’s campaign speeches is meaningful. The reason that Obama deliberately mentions his intentions in the past is that he wants to remind all the addressees that he has accomplished what he intended to do in the past and he has kept his words. By properly using WOULD, Obama successfully present himself as a trustworthy and authoritative person.

In the sematic cluster of possibility/ ability/ permission, the mostly used modal auxiliary is CAN. Bista (2009) argues that one of the possible reasons that modal CAN is frequently used in Obama’s speeches is because that modal CAN is extremely common across registers. This argument might be right, but from the researcher’s personal point of view, modal CAN makes a big contribution to increase the persuasiveness of Obama’s speeches. From the analysis carried out, it is found that CAN is mostly used to denote possibility. In this study, the possibility denoted by CAN is closely associated with people’s wishes and hopes, i.e. find a job, buy a home, send kids to college, retire with dignity, etc. By using modal auxiliary CAN, Obama remind

all the citizens to look on the bright side. Thus the use of CAN evokes the positive connotations in the mind of the listeners. In Obama's speeches, CAN is also used to denote ability and personal authority. When CAN is used to denote ability, it foregrounds the ability and capacity to make things better, thus the persuasion is realized through motivation and inspiration. And when CAN is used to denote permission, it more refers to personal authority, more precisely refers to people's rights of voting. Thus, Obama uses CAN=authority to persuades addresses to get involved in the campaign election and to use their rights to vote.

For modal COULD, the researcher found out that COULD signifying hypothetical possibility is used mostly in the selected speeches. Obama uses hypothetical COULD as a hedge device to express his assumptions. Using WILL or CAN such high certainty modal auxiliaries to express assumption seems a little bit straightforward. The speaker who chooses hypothetical COULD is concerned with a possible change in circumstances. Obama uses hypothetical COULD to make his words rigorous.

In semantic cluster obligation/necessity, the mostly used modal auxiliary is SHOULD. In this study, modal SHOULD is used mostly as suggestion. In Obama's campaign speeches, suggestions are more referring to Obama's proposals or political views. The use of modal SHOULD functions to persuade listeners to support Obama's political views.

In this study, the researcher also notes that modal MAY and MIGHT are the least used in Obama's speeches. This is because the ultimate goal of campaign speech is to persuade listeners to vote, and modal auxiliaries, i.e. MAY and MIGHT express low certainty, thus they are maybe not the good choices to be used to convince others. This

is why in most cases, if Obama wants to express possibility, he uses CAN. Another interesting finding is that MAY and MIGHT are also used as hedge device. Obama uses MAY and MIGHT to avoid making commitments to the factuality of his utterances.

### **5.1.3. Personalization**

Another interesting finding is an element of personalization in these speeches. Obama seems to have the preference of persuading listeners about a particular issue using the pronoun “you” “we” and “I”. The second person pronoun “you” is more predominately used to foreground the targeted listeners. Obama uses the phrase “you +Modal auxiliary”, i.e. you CAN, you SHOULD, you MAY, etc., to get all listeners involved in the particular topic that he is talking about. The inclusive “we” denotes a collective force of unity and foregrounds togetherness, thus, by using “we”, Obama shortens the distance between listeners and him. The first person pronoun “I” is used to exactly refer to Obama’s unique situation as a presidential candidate. The phrase “I +modal auxiliary”, i.e. “I CAN”, “I WILL”, “I WOULD”, etc. indicates Obama is talking from a position of power. He wants to convince all the listeners that he has ability and capacity to carry out an operation.

## **5.2. Contribution of the Current Study**

This current study solely focuses on analyzing the use of modal auxiliaries in Obama’s latest presidential campaign speeches. It is true that plenty of studies have been conducted to analyze his public speeches. However, very little studies have been done so far, which solely focus on analyzing the semantic meanings and functions of presence of modal auxiliaries used in his speeches. Moreover, the researcher has yet to come across any detailed investigation on analysis of modal auxiliaries into Obama’s

campaign speeches. Hence, this current study somehow fills the research gap and makes a further development of study on English modal verbs.

The framework adopted in this study is from Coates'(1983) semantic clusters of modal auxiliaries, which is considered suitable and applicable. Such a scientific framework has guided the researcher on how to properly collect data, organize data, code data and as well as how to interpret the results. A combination of frequency count and qualitative analysis strengthens the findings of this study and make the analysis more convinced and reliable. It is believed that this present study presents readers a better understanding on how modal auxiliaries are used in Obama's campaign speeches. Even though, the researcher has probed into modal auxiliaries from semantic perspective, it also provides a certain referential values for other researchers who are interested in analyzing Obama's speeches from different perspectives, such as systemic functional grammar, CDA, stylistic analysis, etc.

### **5.3. Recommendations for further studies**

There are still some issues which the current study has not covered and it is suggested that further research can address some of the issues raised here.

Firstly, in this study, the data corpus consists of only fifteen Obama's 2012 campaign speeches. Future studies with larger data corpus would be very much worthy of consideration. It is noted that in this study, modal SHALL and OUGHT are rarely used. This might be due to the limited data corpus of the current study. It is important for future research to enlarge the data corpus because it would increase the reliability and validity of the findings of this study.

Secondly, this study has looked at modal auxiliaries used in Obama's presidential campaign speeches. It is suggested that for future studies, a comparison study could be carried out to investigate whether different presidential candidates use different modal auxiliaries as communicative strategies to persuade listeners. For instance, a future research can be conducted to compare the modal auxiliaries used in Obama's campaign speeches and Romney's campaigns speeches. It would interesting to investigate whether the use of modal auxiliaries is the matter of personal preference or the use of modal auxiliaries is relatively common across different speakers.

Lastly, in this study, modal auxiliaries are analyzed in the context of persuading people in campaign speeches. For future studies, other researchers could carry out studies to analyze how modal auxiliaries are used as persuasion strategies in different contexts, such as in commercial circle. It would be interesting to look at how a salesperson uses different modal auxiliaries while he/she is persuading costumers to buy the product.

#### **5.4. Conclusion**

This study aims at exploring how modal auxiliaries are used in the Barak Obama's 2012 presidential campaign speeches. Only fifteen of his speeches were selected as the primary data for the analysis. After prudent and thorough analysis, it is found that both modals of intention/prediction/ futurity and modals of possibility/ability/permission are used primarily in the selected speeches. In addition, it is the WILL of prediction and CAN of possibility is used most frequently by Barak Obama in delivering his persuasion. The modal auxiliary WILL signifying prediction functions to depict the Obama's future plans. Modal WILL in many ways foregrounds the objectives of Obama's government and it functions as a promise thus it increases the addressees'

confidence towards his government. And the modal auxiliary CAN signifying possibility functions to evoke positive emotions and connotations in the mind of all the listeners. CAN in many ways highlights the possibilities that are associated with people's hopes and wishes and functions to remind all citizens to look bright side, and persuasion is realized through motivation.



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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX I: The details of selected texts

NO.	Text	time	location	website
1	T1	June 12, 2012	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/06.12.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/06.12.12.html</a>
2	T2	June 22, 2012	Tampa, Florida	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/06.22.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/06.22.12.html</a>
3	T3	July 10, 2012	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/07.10.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/07.10.12.html</a>
4	T4	July 23, 2012	Reno, Nevada	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/07.23.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/07.23.12.html</a>
5	T5	July 27, 2012	McLean, Virginia	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/07.27.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/07.27.12.html</a>
6	T6	August 1, 2012	Mansfield, Ohio	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/08.01.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/08.01.12.html</a>
7	T7	August 12, 2012	Chicago, Illinois	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/08.12.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/08.12.12.html</a>

APPENDIX I CON'T: Details of selected texts

NO.	Text	time	location	website
8	T8	September 7, 2012	Iowa City, Iowa	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/09.07.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/09.07.12.html</a>
9	T9	September 17, 2012	Columbus, Ohio	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/09.17.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/09.17.12.html</a>
10	T10	September 18, 2012	New York, New York	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/09.18.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/09.18.12.html</a>
11	T11	September 21, 2012	Woodbridge, Virginia	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/09.21.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/09.21.12.html</a>
12	T12	October 4, 2012	Madison, Wisconsin	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/10.04.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/10.04.12.html</a>
13	T13	October 19, 2012	Fairfax, Virginia	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/10.19.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/10.19.12.html</a>
14	T14	October 19, 2012	New York, New York	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/10.19.12.b.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/10.19.12.b.html</a>
15	T15	October 25, 2012	Cleveland, Ohio	<a href="http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/10.25.12.html">http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2012/obama/10.25.12.html</a>

# APPENDIX II

T1

NO.	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P3/L8	if you're willing to work hard, if you're willing to take responsibility, that in this country you <b>can</b> make it	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	root possibility
2	P3/L8	That you <b>can</b> find a job that pays a living wage	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	root possibility
3	P3/L9	You <b>can</b> save and buy a home	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	root possibility
4	P3/L9	You <b>can</b> send your kids to college so they do even better	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
5	P3/L10	You <b>can</b> retire with some dignity and some respect	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
6	P2/L12	that in America you <b>can</b> make it if you try.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
7	P4/L5	President Clinton, and turned it into deficits as far as the eye <b>could</b> see	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> Root ability
8	P7/L1	when some people said we <b>should</b> let Detroit go	SHOULD	Modals of obligation	Root Subjective

		bankrupt, we decided, no, we're going to make a bet on the American worker and American industry		and necessity	=advice (weak sense)
9	P7/L5	We helped to stabilize the financial system so small businesses <b>could</b> get help again and get credit and financing flowing again.	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
10	P8/L5	their families are counting on their job that maybe I'll take out less this year,	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Root intention
11	P8/L5	maybe I <b>won't</b> even pay myself a salary	WON'T	Modals of volition and prediction	<b>negation</b> Root intention
12	P8/L6	I <b>can</b> keep my doors open	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
13	P10/L1	so we <b>can</b> say that we are in a stronger position, we are moving in a better direction, than when I took office	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
14	P10/L7	we never thought they'd be solved overnight	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic prediction
15	P11/L3	he <b>should</b> be proud of his personal success	SHOULD	Modals of obligation and necessity	Epistemic Tentative assumption
16	P12/L5	the elimination of regulations that <b>would</b> make sure that Wall Street doesn't engage in the kind of behavior that resulted in this crisis	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
17	P12/L7	that <b>would</b> roll back the kinds of progress we've made making sure insurance companies can't drop you when you get sick	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
18	P12/L81	that would roll back the kinds of progress we've made making sure insurance companies <b>can't</b> drop you when you get sick	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Permission  Rules and law



19	P12/L 8 2	that <b>would</b> roll back environmental and worker protection and consumer protections that we have been working on not just during my administration, but for the last 30, 40 years	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
20	P13/L 1	And I guess he thinks either it <b>would</b> result in a different outcome	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
21	P15/L 9	We're able to make sure that we <b>can</b> cap the amount of money that folks have to pay back each month on their student loans	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
22	P15/L 10	because we recognized that a higher education <b>cannot</b> be a luxury.	CANNOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Permission  Ethical moral
23	P15/L 11	You <b>can't</b> just count on the fact that your parents are paying for your college education	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Permission (ethical and conventional)
24	P17/L 1	the notion that we <b>would</b> now shortchange our investments in science and basic research, the possible cures for cancer or Alzheimer's	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root hypothetical Will=volition
25	P17/L 3	the clean energy that <b>can</b> make sure that we're doing something about climate change and saving money for families	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
26	P20/L 6	we <b>can</b> put people back to work in the process	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
27	P20/L 7	I believe we <b>can</b> achieve that	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability

28	P24/L 4	he doesn't detail how it <b>would</b> be paid for	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root hypothetical Will=volition
29	P27/L 4	2.5 million young people who <b>can</b> stay on their parents' plan and now have health insurance who didn't otherwise have -- that was the right thing to do.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root Permission  Law /rule
30	P28/L 5	it <b>will</b> go to deficit reduction	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
31	P28/L 6	we' <b>ll</b> put to work rebuilding America	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Root intention
32	P29/L 1	We're not going to go back to the days when you <b>couldn't</b> serve in the military just because of who you love	COULD N'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> <b>Past form</b> Root ability
33	P34/L 3 1	they did not try when they were in charge, because you <b>won't</b> see it	WON'T	Modals of volition and prediction	<b>Negation</b> prediction
34	P34/L 3 2	It <b>will</b> be the same stuff. The same okey-doke.	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
35	P34/L 5	they <b>will</b> tap into and feed into cynicism and a sense of frustration	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
36	P34/L 6	And they' <b>ll</b> try to direct blame	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
37	P37/L 3 1	And I told you back in 2008 that I <b>wouldn't</b> be -- I wasn't a perfect man	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b>  <b>Negation</b> Predictability
38	P37/L 3 2	Michelle <b>would</b> tell you that.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> predictable
39	P37/L 4 1	I <b>wouldn't</b> -- I'd never be a perfect President	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b>  Negation Predictability
40	P37/L 4 2	I' <b>d</b> never be a perfect President	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction	<b>Past form</b> <b>Negation</b> Predictability

				/futurity	ty
41	P37/L 5 1	I'd always tell you what I thought	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
42	P37/L 5 2	I'd always tell you where I stood	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
43	P37/L 6 1	I promised you I <b>would</b> wake up every single day thinking about how I can work as hard as I know how to make your lives a little bit better	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
44	P37/L 6 2	how I <b>can</b> work as hard as I know how to make your lives a little bit better	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
45	P38/L 4 1	if you're willing to work even hard than you did in 2008, we'll finish what we started	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
46	P38/L 4 2	We <b>will</b> move this country forward	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic intention
47	P38/L 5	we'll remind the world just why it is the United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic intention

T2

NO	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P1/L2	I <b>couldn't</b> wait to get out here.	COULDN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Remote of can Negation</b>  Root possibility
2	P5/L3	I signed a law that <b>will</b> reduce our deficit by \$2 trillion, but we've got to do more work on our deficit	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic predictability
3	P5/L7	the economy <b>won't</b> be truly healthy until we reverse that much longer erosion of the middle class	WON'T	Modals of volition and prediction	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic predictability
4	P5/L9	if you work hard in this country, you <b>can</b> get ahead, and own a home, and send your kids L10 to college, and retire with dignity and respect.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
5	P6/L5	What is holding us back is a stalemate between two fundamentally different views in Washington about which direction we <b>should</b> go in	SHOULD	Modals of obligation and necessity	Root Meaning (Give advice)
6	P6/L4	Congress <b>will</b> face a set of decisions -- on the economy, and on the deficit, and on taxes	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic predictability
7	P6/L4	that <b>will</b> have an enormous impact on this country not just today but the country that we pass on to our children.	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
8	P9/L2	they believe that we <b>should</b> go back to the top-down economics of the last decade.	SHOULD	Modals of obligation and necessity	Root meaning Give advice
9	P10/L2	They figure that if we simply eliminate regulations and cut taxes by trillions of dollars, then the market <b>will</b> solve all of our problems	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
10	P11/L3	it <b>will</b> automatically translate into jobs and prosperity that benefit all of us	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction

11	P12/L1	I believe we <b>should</b> do everything we can to help our entrepreneurs succeed	SHOULD	Modals of obligation and necessity	Root meaning
12	P12/L2	I believe we should do everything we <b>can</b> to help our entrepreneurs succeed	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
13	P14/L4	We need a plan for better education and for better training, for energy independence, for innovation, for infrastructure that <b>can</b> rebuild America	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
14	P16/L1	there's no mystery about where the other side <b>will</b> take us if they win the election	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
15	P18/L1	I <b>can</b> tell this is a sophisticated group	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
16	P18/L2	you <b>might</b> be wondering, how do they spend \$5 trillion on new tax cuts	MIGHT	Modals of Epistemic meanings	Epistemic possibility
17	P18/L3	their plan <b>would</b> reduce the deficit	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
18	P20/L3	they' <b>ll</b> also have to raise taxes on the middle class by taking away tax deductions for everything from health care to college, to retirement, to homeownership --	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
19	P21/L1	And that <b>could</b> cost some families thousands of dollars	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Remote of can</b> Root possibility
20	P22/L1	Is there anybody here who <b>can</b> afford to pay thousands of dollars to give people like me and Mr. Romney another	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss	Root ability

		tax cut?		ibility/perm ission	
21	P23/L2	When Mr. Romney tells us he's some sort of financial wizard who <b>can</b> fix our economy, that's how he intends to do it.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
22	P25/L2	the other side's economic plan <b>would</b> actually reduce the deficit in the long term	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	hypothetical of root WILL=volition
23	P25/L3	I haven't seen a single independent economist say it <b>would</b> create jobs in the short-term.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	hypothetical of root WILL=volition
24	P25/L4	one said that it <b>would</b> push us even deeper into recession.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
25	P26/L2	they <b>should</b> vote for Mr. Romney	SHOULD	Modals of obligation and necessity	Root meaning
26	P26/L3	They <b>should</b> reelect the Republicans who've been running for Congress.	SHOULD	Modals of obligation and necessity	Root meaning
27	P27/L1	Mr. Romney and a Republican Congress <b>will</b> take America back down this path that we've tried, and it didn't work the last time	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
28	P29/L1	Despite what you <b>will</b> hear from the other side	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
29	P30/L2	I don't believe that we <b>should</b> be in the business of helping people who refuse to help themselves.	SHOULD	Modals of obligation and necessity	Root meaning
30	P30/L5 1	we <b>should</b> do together what we can't do as well for ourselves.	SHOULD	Modals of obligation and necessity	Root meaning
31	P30/L5 2	we should do together what we <b>can't</b> do as well for ourselves.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
32	P31/I4	the market <b>can't</b> solve all its	CAN'T	Modal	<b>Negation</b>

		problems on our own		auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
33	P36/L2	My plan <b>would</b> recruit an army of new teachers	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	hypothetical of root WILL=volition
34	P38/L3	my plan <b>would</b> give companies a permanent tax credit for research and development that they do here in America	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	hypothetical of root WILL=volition
35	P38/L4	We'll double down on public research that laid the foundation for the Internet and GPS and Google, and all the companies and jobs that followed.	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Root intention
36	P39/L5	And what I'm pushing for is an independent fund that <b>will</b> attract private dollars and issue loans for new construction projects	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Root intention
37	P39/L7	based on two criteria: how badly are they needed and how much good <b>will</b> they do for the economy.	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Root intention
38	P40/L2 1	We'll cut spending we can't afford.	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Root intention
39	P40/L2 2	We'll cut spending we <b>can't</b> afford.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
40	P40/L2 3	We'll strengthen programs like Medicare for the long haul.	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Root intention
41	P40/L3	We <b>can</b> reform our tax code in a way that is fair and responsible –	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
42	P41/L1	My plan <b>will</b> stop giving tax breaks to businesses that ship jobs	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Root intention
43	P43/L2	We need a President who <b>will</b> fight for American jobs	WILL	Modals of volition and	Root intention

		and fight for American manufacturing.		prediction	
44	P43/L4	That's what my plan <b>will</b> do.	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Root intention
45	P44/L3	my plan, yes, <b>will</b> ask the wealthiest Americans to pay a little bit more -- just like they did when Bill Clinton was President	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Root intention
46	P44/L7	there are plenty of patriotic, very successful Americans who'd be willing to make this contribution again.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	hypothetical of root WILL=volition
47	P46/L2	Neither of them <b>will</b> endorse any policy that asks the wealthiest Americans to pay even a nickel more in taxes.	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
48	P46/L5	That's the reason my jobs bill that <b>would</b> put a million more people back to work has been voted down by Republicans in Congress time and time again.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	hypothetical of root WILL=volition
49	P47/L1	Only you <b>can</b> break that stalemate.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root Permission Personal authority
50	P47/L3	you <b>can</b> decide whether we keep our brave men and women in Afghanistan indefinitely,	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root Permission Personal authority
51	P47/L6	You <b>can</b> decide	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root Permission Personal authority
52	P47/L7	You <b>can</b> decide whether we're going to have another political fight about ending a woman's right to choose	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root Permission Personal authority
53	P47/L1 01	you <b>can</b> decide that women should control their own health care choices.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss	Root Permission Personal



				ibility/perm ission	authority
54	P47/L1 0 2	You can decide that women <b>should</b> control their own health care choices.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/o bligation	Root Meaning objective
55	P48/L1	You <b>can</b> decide, you choose whether to re-fight the battles we just had over financial reform and health care reform.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	Root Permission Personal authority
56	P48/L2	you <b>can</b> decide that ending taxpayer bailouts of Wall Street banks was the right thing to do	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	Root Permission  Personal authority
57	P48/L6	You <b>can</b> decide	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	Root Permission  Personal authority
58	P49/L1 1	You <b>can</b> decide whether we're going back to the days	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	Root Permission  Personal authority
59	P49/L1 2	you <b>could</b> be kicked out of the United States military just because of who you are and who you love.	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	Root Possibility
60	P49/L3	You <b>can</b> decide whether it's time to stop denying citizenship to responsible young people just because they're the children of undocumented immigrants.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	Root Permission  Personal authority
61	P49/L5	You <b>can</b> decide that this is	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	Root Permission Personal authority
62	P50/L2	the other side <b>will</b> spend more money than we have ever seen	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
63	P50/L4	I <b>can't</b> fix it because government is always the	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries	<b>Negation</b> Root

		answer, according to me.		of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	ability
64	P50/L7	They <b>will</b> have ad after ad after ad	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
65	P50/L8 1	all them <b>will</b> have scary voices	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
66	P50/L8 2	They' <b>ll</b> have pictures of me looking all old	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
67	P50/L1 1	That's what the Republicans in Congress <b>will</b> say.	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
68	P50/L1 1 2	that <b>may</b> be their plan to win an election	MAY	Modals of Epistemic meanings	Root possibility
69	P51/L5	they <b>should</b> vote for Governor Romney and the Republicans who run Congress.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/o bligation	Root Meaning Weak sense subjective
70	P52/L4	if you believe that everybody <b>should</b> be able to succeed	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/o bligation	Root meaning objective
71	P53/L3	I <b>will</b> work with anybody of any party who believes that we're in this together	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Root intention
72	P54/L2	And we <b>can</b> solve that	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	Root ability
73	P56/L1	if we're out there working together, we <b>can</b> finish what we started.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	Root possibility

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NO	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P6/L2	you <b>may</b> be aware that it is now campaign season	MAY	Modals of Epistemic meanings	Epistemic possibility
2	P6/L3	You guys <b>can't</b> get away from it.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root possibility
3	P7/L1	I know that sometimes it <b>can</b> be tempting to lose interest and to lose heart and to get a little cynical.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
4	P7/L3	I'm betting that you <b>won't</b> .	WON'T	Modals of volition and prediction	<b>negation</b> Epistemic prediction
5	P8/L2	stakes in this election <b>could not</b> be bigger	COULD NOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>negation</b> remote of can Root possibility
6	P8/L5	the choice that we make that <b>will</b> help determine our direction for years to come	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic prediction
7	P9/L1	This <b>will</b> be my last political campaign, no matter what	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic predictability
8	P10/L1	when I think about it was how many people you'd meet from every walk of life all across Illinois in big cities, small towns, upstate, downstate, quads, you name it.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
9	P10/L3	you'd always hear similar stories from people about their parents or their grandparents and the struggles they had gone through,	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Past form Epistemic predictability
10	P10/L7	And those stories <b>would</b> resonate with me and Michelle because that was our story, that was our	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability

		lives.			ty
11	P11/L6	This was a state that gave me a chance when nobody else <b>would</b> .	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
12	P12/L2 1	we' <b>d</b> come here.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Past form Epistemic predictability
12	P12/L2 2	we' <b>d</b> feel hopeful, because we had that same conversation that we had had in my first race as a state senator	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Past form Epistemic predictability
13	P12/L6	meeting people whose lives on the surface <b>might</b> have looked different than mine, but when you heard their stories, they were a common story.	MIGHT	Epistemic possibility	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic possibility
14	P13/L4	Michelle <b>would</b> think about her father	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
15	P14/L4 1	America is a place where you <b>can</b> make it if you try	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
16	P14/L4 2	America is a place where you <b>can</b> make it if you try	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
17	P15/L2 1	we' <b>d</b> sit and talk	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
18	P15/L2 2	we' <b>d</b> agree that America has never been a country of people looking for handouts.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
19	P15/L8	you <b>can</b> find a job that pays the bills	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of	Root possibility

				ability/poss ibility/perm ission	
20	P15/L10	you <b>can</b> call your own	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	Root possibility
21	P15/L13 1	And once in a while we' <b>d</b> rent a car	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	<b>Past form</b>  Epistemic predictabili ty
22	P15/L13 2	a bunch of times we' <b>d</b> just take Greyhound buses.	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	<b>Past form</b>  Epistemic predictabili ty
23	P15/L14	sometimes we' <b>d</b> take the train	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	<b>Past form</b>  Epistemic predictabili ty
24	P15/L15	I' <b>d</b> be happy	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	<b>Past form</b>  Epistemic predictabili ty
25	P15/L16	you' <b>d</b> go to the ice machine and the vending machine and buy a soda and get the ice, and you were really excited about it	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	<b>Past form</b>  Epistemic predictabili ty
26	P16/L2	you understood that you <b>could</b> spend time with your family.	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
27	P16/L3	You <b>could</b> provide for your children an education	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
28	P16/L4	that <b>would</b> allow them to do even better than you did.	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic prediction
29	P18/L2	We knew it <b>would</b> take more than one year or one	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre	<b>Past form</b>

		term or maybe even one President.		diction /futuraity	Epistemic predictability
30	P19/L4	if you work hard in this country, you <b>can</b> still make it	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
31	P20/L4	whether they start a business or they're punching a clock, <b>can</b> have confidence that if you work hard, you can get ahead.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
32	P20/L5	whether they start a business or they're punching a clock, can have confidence that if you work hard, you <b>can</b> get ahead.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
33	P22/L4	which path we <b>should</b> take as a country.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root Meaning objective
34	P23/L1	This election <b>will</b> determine our economic future for the next generation.	WILL	Modals of volition and prediction	Epistemic predictability
35	P23/L2	The choice <b>could not</b> be clearer.	COULD NOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Remote of can Root possibility
36	P24/L2	it <b>will</b> somehow create more jobs	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futuraity	Epistemic prediction
37	P31/L3	taxes <b>will</b> go up on everybody at the end of this year.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futuraity	Epistemic prediction
38	P32/L3	if Congress doesn't act, then that tax hike <b>could</b> cost up to \$2,200 for a family of four.	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Remote of can Root possibility
39	P32/L4	That <b>wouldn't</b> just be a big financial hit for Jason and Ali	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futuraity	- hypothetical form of WILL=pre

					diction
40	P33/L1	It <b>would</b> be not only a huge blow to those families,	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
41	P33/L1 2	it <b>would</b> be a big blow to our entire economy at a time when we need all the help we can get.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
42	P33/L2	it would be a big blow to our entire economy at a time when we need all the help we <b>can</b> get.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
43	P33/L3	I believe that we <b>should</b> make sure that taxes on the 98 percent of Americans don't go up	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Giving advice
44	P33/L4	we <b>should</b> let the tax cuts expire for folks like me, for the top 2 percent of Americans	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Giving advice
45	P34/L2	It's because I know I <b>can</b> afford it	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
46	P36/L1 1	that <b>would</b> cost about a trillion dollars	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
47	P36/L1 2	we <b>can't</b> afford it	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
48	P38/L2	98 percent of Americans who are working hard and <b>can't</b> afford a tax hike right now?	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
49	P39/L2	we <b>can</b> keep arguing about the 2 percent	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	ROOT possibility
50	P39/L3	when we <b>can</b> agree	CAN	Modal	Root

				auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	possibility
51	P40/L3	give you some certainty so you <b>can</b> start planning, so you have an idea of what's coming next year.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
52	P41/L2	because I believe we <b>can</b> make progress right now that helps you and your families.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
53	P42/L5	we <b>should</b> "let Detroit go bankrupt."	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root Meaning Weak sense Giving advice
54	P44/L1	Because what's happening in the auto industry <b>can</b> happen in other industries,	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
56	P45/L4	I <b>will</b> keep fighting to make sure jobs are located here in the United States of America. (Applause.)	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
57	P49/L1	I believe that nobody in America <b>should</b> go broke just because they get sick.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root Meaning Weak sense Giving advice
58	P49/L3	I <b>will</b> work with anybody to improve the health care law where we can.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
59	P49/L4	I will work with anybody to improve the health care law where we <b>can</b> .	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	ROOT permission
60	P50/L1	it <b>will</b> help the vast majority of Americans feel greater security.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
61	P50/L3	because insurance	CAN'T	Modal	<b>Negation</b>



		companies <b>can't</b> jerk you around because of fine print		auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Rules/law
62	P50/L4	we <b>'ll</b> help you get it.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
63	P53/L3	We <b>can't</b> go back	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Permission reasonableness
64	P54/L1	we <b>can</b> afford to pay down our debt	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
65	P54/L3	I <b>will</b> cut spending	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
66	P54/L4	we <b>can't</b> afford --	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
67	P55/L4	it means cutting out things we <b>can't</b> afford.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>NEGATION</b> Root ability
68	P55/L5	we <b>can</b> streamline government	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
69	P56/L7	the idea that if you work hard, you <b>can</b> have the security to make of your life what you will.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
70	P56/L8	the idea that if you work hard, you can have the security to make of your	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction	ROOT intention

		life what you <b>will</b> .		/futurity	
71	P58/L1	you' <b>ll</b> see the other side spending more money than we've ever seen before.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
72	P58/L1	there <b>will</b> probably be a bunch of different ads,	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
73	P58/L3	they' <b>ll</b> all have the same message.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
74	P58/L2	They' <b>ll</b> all say: The economy is not where it needs to be and it's Obama's fault.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
75	P58/L5	they <b>can</b> say is, unemployment is still too high;	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
76	P59/L1	That <b>may</b> be a plan to win an election	MAY	Modals of epistemic meaning	Root possibility
77	P61/L2	you <b>can</b> still do that	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	ROOT ability
78	P61/L5 1	I <b>wouldn't</b> be a perfect President.	WOULD'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
79	P61/L5 2	I <b>would</b> tell you what I thought,	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
80	P61/L6	I' <b>d</b> tell you where I stood	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
81	P61/L6 2	I <b>would</b> work every single day	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
82	P61/L5	I <b>would</b> fight as hard as I knew how for you	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention

83	P62/L4 1	I promise you we <b>will not</b> just win this election	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/pre diction /futurity	<b>Negation</b>  Epistemic prediction
84	P62/L4 2	we <b>will</b> finish what we started	WILL	Modals of volition/pre diction /futurity	Root intention
85	P62/L5	we <b>will</b> remind the world why America is the greatest nation on Earth.	WILL	Modals of volition/pre diction /futurity	Root intention

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N O.	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P5/L4	whose life <b>will</b> be an inspiration to her two little girls.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
2	P6/L2	whose family and friends <b>will</b> always know that in that theater he gave his own life to save another.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
3	P8/L5	Because you know what Americans <b>must</b> always remember – our nation only endures because there are patriots who protect it.	MUST	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning
4	P9/L4	you were tested in ways the rest of us <b>will</b> never know	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
5	P9/L3	we <b>must</b> honor our fallen heroes not just on Memorial Day,	MUST	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning
6	P9/L4	we <b>must</b> do everything in our power to bring them home.	MUST	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning
7	P11/L4	what <b>should</b> have been said all along	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root Meaning objective
8	P14/L3	They <b>would</b> have kept tens of thousands of our forces in Iraq	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
9	P16/L3	if we had Osama bin Laden in our sights, we <b>would</b> act to keep America safe	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
10	P16/L7	Osama bin Laden <b>will</b> never threaten America again	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
11	P18/L6	more than 30,000 of our troops <b>will</b> have come home	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
12	P18/L7	Afghans <b>will</b> take the lead for their own security	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
13	P18/L7	the transition <b>will</b> be	WILL	Modals of	Epistemic

	2	complete.		volition/pr ediction /futuraity	prediction
14	P18/L8	And even as our troops come home, we'll have a strong partnership with the Afghan people	WILL	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futuraity	Root intention
15	P18/L9	we will stay vigilant so Afghanistan is never again a source for attacks against America.	WILL	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futuraity	Root intention
16	P19/L6	nations that cannot be allowed to threaten the world with nuclear weapons.	CANNOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/pos sibility/per mission	<b>Negation</b>  Permission
17	P20/L1	the Syrian people can have a better future, free of the Assad regime.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/pos sibility/per mission	ROOT possibility
18	P20/L3	we will continue to make it clear to Assad and those around him	WILL	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futuraity	Root intention
19	P20/L4	they will be held accountable by the international community and the United States	WILL	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futuraity	Epistemic prediction
20	P20/L5	should they make the tragic mistake of using those weapons.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/ obligation	Root Meaning subjective
23	P20/L6	we will continue to work with our friends and our allies and the Syrian opposition on behalf of the day when the Syrian people have a government that respects their basic rights to live in peace and freedom and dignity.	WILL	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futuraity	Root intention
24	P22/L4	every American can be proud that the United States is safer and stronger and more respected in the world.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/pos sibility/per mission	Root Possibility
25	P23/L2	our soldiers will now have fewer and shorter deployments, which means more time on the home front	WILL	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futuraity	Epistemic predictabili ty

		to keep their families strong;			
26	P24/L2	we <b>will</b> maintain our military superiority.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
27	P24/L3	It <b>will</b> be second to none as long as I am President and well into the future.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
28	P25/L3 1	that Congress said <b>would</b> occur next year if they couldn't reach a deal to reduce the deficit?	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic prediction
29	P25/L3 3	that Congress said would occur next year if they <b>couldn't</b> reach a deal to reduce the deficit?	COULDN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> <b>Negation</b> Root possibility
30	P25/L4	there's no reason that <b>should</b> happen, because people in Congress ought to be able to come together and agree on a plan, a balanced approach that reduces the deficit and keeps our military strong.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root Obligation  objective
	P25/L5	there's no reason that should happen, because people in Congress <b>ought to</b> be able to come together and agree on a plan, a balanced approach that reduces the deficit and keeps our military strong.	Ought to	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning
31	P25/L7	It <b>should</b> be done.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	ROOT Obligation objective
32	P26/L6	I <b>will</b> stand with our troops every single time.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
33	P29/L1 1	there's another way we <b>can</b> honor those who serve.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
34	P29/L1 2	It <b>may</b> no longer be a crime for con artists to pass themselves off as heroes,	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	ROOT possibility
35	P29/L3	So this week, we <b>will</b> launch	WILL	Modals of	Root

		a new website,		volition/pr ediction /futuraity	Intention
36	P29/L4	So the American people <b>can</b> see who's been awarded our nation's highest honors.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/pos sibility/per mission	Root possibility
37	P29/L5	no American hero <b>should</b> ever have their valor stolen.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/ obligation	Root Necessity ojective
38	P30/L6	we talked about what those automatic budget cuts -- sequestration -- <b>could</b> mean for the VA.	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/pos sibility/per mission	<b>PAST FORM</b> Root possibility
39	P31/L1	I promised you that I'd stand up for veterans' health care.	WOULD	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futuraity	<b>PAST FORM</b> Root intention
40	P31L/2	I <b>will not</b> allow VA health care to be turned into a voucher system,	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futuraity	<b>Negation</b> Root intention
41	P31/L3	I <b>could not</b> disagree more.	COULD NOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/pos sibility/per mission	<b>Past form Negation</b> Root possibility
42	P36/L3	And the VA and DOD <b>will</b> work harder towards a seamless transition so new veterans aren't just piled on to the backlog.	WILL	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futuraity	Root intention
43	P36/L5 1	we <b>will not</b> rest	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futuraity	<b>Negation</b> Root intention
44	P36/L5 2	I <b>will not</b> be satisfied until we get this right.	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futuraity	<b>Negation</b> Root intention
45	P36/L8	how this <b>can</b> work better, so let's get it done, together.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/pos sibility/per mission	Root possibility
46	P37/L8	It <b>should not</b> be happening in	SHOULD	Modals of	<b>Negation</b>

		the United States of America.	NOT	necessity/ obligation	Root Necessity
47	P38/L6	we' <b>ll</b> be there and do more to help	WILL	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futurity	Root intention
48	P39/L4	every veteran who has fought for America <b>ought to</b> have a home in America.	OUGHT TO	Modals of necessity/ obligation	ROOT Meaning Advisable
49	P40/L2	I' <b>d</b> do everything I could to help our veterans realize the American Dream	WOULD	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futurity	<b>PAST FORM</b> Root intention
50	P40/L2 2	I'd do everything I <b>could</b> to help our veterans realize the American Dream	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/pos sibility/per mission	Root ability
51	P41/L3	they' <b>ll</b> get more personalized assistance as they plan their careers.	WILL	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futurity	Epistemic Prediction
52	P41/L4	We' <b>ll</b> provide the training they need to find that job	WILL	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futurity	Root intention
53	P41/L6	we' <b>ll</b> have new standards of "career readiness."	WILL	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futurity	ROOT intention
54	P43/L4	People <b>should</b> understand how skilled you are	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/ obligation	Root Advisable
55	P43/L5	there <b>shouldn't</b> be bureaucrats or runarounds. We've got to put those folks to work.	SHOULD N'T	Modals of necessity/ obligation	<b>Negation</b> Root advisable
56	P44/L6	they <b>will</b> make you proud just like they've made America proud.	WILL	Modals of volition/pr ediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
57	P45/L4	So today, we <b>can</b> point to progress.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/pos sibility/per mission	Root possibility
58	P45/L1 0	hire veterans so we <b>can</b> give these American heroes the jobs and opportunities that they deserve.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/pos	Root possibility



				sibility/permission	
59	P46/L2	we <b>will not</b> rest	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Negation Root intention
60	P47/L7	We <b>will</b> never apologize for our way of life	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic prediction
61	P47/L7 2	we <b>will</b> never waver in its defense.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic prediction
62	P48/L4	The United States has been, and <b>will</b> remain, the one indispensable nation in world affairs.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
63	P48/L6	We <b>will</b> honor your legacy.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
64	P48/L6 2	we <b>will</b> ensure that the military you served, and the America that we love, remains the greatest force for freedom that the world has ever known.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention

N O.	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P4/L1	I'm term-limited, I <b>can't</b> run again.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
2	P5/L2	I' <b>d</b> have to drive all around the state	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
3	P5/L3	I' <b>d</b> do my own driving	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
4	P5/L4	I <b>might</b> have a staff person in the passenger seat.	MIGHT	Modals of epistemic meaning	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
5	P5/L5	you <b>may not</b> understand this	MAY NOT	Modals of epistemic meaning	Epistemic possibility
6	P5/L6	you' <b>d</b> have to unfold them and then fold them again.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
7	P5/L7	you' <b>d</b> get lost	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
8	P5/L8	I' <b>d</b> have to find my own parking spot	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
9	P5/L8 2	I' <b>d</b> have to be reaching in the back to see if I could find an umbrella.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
10	P5/L9	I'd have to be reaching in the back to see if I <b>could</b> find an umbrella.	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
11	P6/L3	If I' <b>d</b> met an older person -	WOULD	Modals of	<b>Past form</b>

		- what are you talking about, young lady?		volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
12	P7/L1	if I met an older veteran, I'd think about my grandparents	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
13	P8/L1	if I met a single mom, I'd think about my mom	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
14	P8/L4	I would think about -- if I'd met a working couple	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
15	P8/L4 2	I would think about -- if I'd met a working couple	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
16	P8/L5	I'd think about Michelle's parents	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
17	P8/L6	he could barely walk	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> Root ability
18	P8/L6 2	he'd have to wake up an hour earlier than everybody else to get dressed and get to work on time.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
19	P9/I1	the point is that everywhere I went I'd meet people with the same story.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic predictability
20	P9/L3	You should be able to make it if you work hard.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Epistemic possibility
21	P9/L4	You should be able to get ahead if you act responsibly.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Epistemic possibility
22	P10/L2	It had to do with could you find a job that paid a living wage, that supported a family.	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
23	P10/L3	Could you make sure you were able to have a home that you could call you	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility

		own		ility/permission	
24	P10/L4 1	Could you make sure you were able to have a home that you <b>could</b> call your own	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
25	P10/L4 2	that you <b>wouldn't</b> go bankrupt when you get sick;	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic prediction
26	P10/L5 1	that you <b>would</b> be able to give your kids a great education	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic prediction
27	P10/L5 2	they <b>could</b> achieve things that you never even dreamed of	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
28	P10/L6	Then hopefully you <b>could</b> retire with some dignity and some respect.	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
29	P11/L3	everybody <b>can</b> make it if they try.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
30	P13/L5	Our goal was to build an economy that <b>would</b> last for decades to come	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
31	P14/L3	Let's pass a health care law that <b>can</b> ensure that all Americans have access to high-quality health care.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root permission
32	P14/L1 5	That's the reason why we reformed our student loan system so that we <b>could</b> expand Pell grants and make sure that millions of people were able to get thousands of dollars of assistance in sending their kids to college	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> possibility
33	P15/L4	it <b>will</b> cost them money	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability

34	P17/L1	It <b>will</b> be paid for by gutting our investments in education, our investments in infrastructure,	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
35	P17/L6	if we don't do anything, if Congress does nothing, everybody's taxes go up on January 1st, which <b>would</b> be tough on the economy and tough on a lot of families.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
36	P18/L21	their taxes <b>won't</b> go up	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
37	P18/L22	the incomes taxes <b>will not</b> go up a dime.	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic predictability
38	P18/L5	If we get 218 votes out of the House, the vast majority of the country <b>will</b> have certainty next year that their taxes will not go up	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
39	P18/L6	If we get 218 votes out of the House, the vast majority of the country will have certainty next year that their taxes <b>will not</b> go up	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic predictability
40	P19/L2	You <b>can</b> break this stalemate	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root permission
41	P21/L4	I want to open up community colleges for 2 million more people so that they <b>can</b> get trained for the jobs that local businesses are hiring for right now.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
42	P23/L1	We <b>can</b> put people to work right now doing the work that America needs done.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
43	P23/L2	It <b>will</b> be good for those hard hats who have more money in their pockets.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction	Epistemic prediction

				/futurity	
44	P23/L2 2	They'll go to restaurants	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
45	P23/L3	they'll shop at local businesses.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
46	P23/L3 2	the entire economic will get a lift	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
47	P23/L4	plus we will make ourselves more competitive for decades to come.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
48	P24/L2	- 30 million people will have health insurance that did not have it	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
49	P24/L3	Your children can stay on your health insurance plan	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root Permission law
50	P24/L5	We are not going to go back to the old days when insurance companies could just jerk you around for no reason.	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
51	P25/L1	we are not going back to the days when you couldn't serve the country you love just because of you who you love.	COULD N'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> Root ability
52	P25/L5	because I think women should have control over their health care choices	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Subjective
53	P29/L1	I told you this would not be easy	WOULD NOT	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
54	P29/L1 2	this would not be quick.	WOULD NOT	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
55	P29/L2	I told you it might take more than one year	MIGHT	Modals of epistemic possibility	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic possibility

56	P29/L8	their argument <b>will</b> be	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
57	P29/L8	The economy is not where it <b>should</b>	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning
58	P29/L9	They' <b>ll</b> have variations on it	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
59	P29/L9	they' <b>ll</b> do the same ad over and over and over and over again.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
60	P30/L5	they <b>can</b> cut through the nonsense.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
61	P30/L7	who <b>will</b> determine what is true	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
62	P31/L6	that next generation, they're going to be able to do things I <b>couldn't</b> do.	COULD N'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Remote of can</b> ability
63	P31/L6 2	So maybe I <b>can't</b> own a business, but if I really work hard, someday, maybe my daughter owns a business.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b>  Root ability
64	P31/L8	I <b>might not</b> own a home, but if I work really hard, maybe someday, my son, he'll build homes.	MIGHT NOT	Modals of epistemic possibility	<b>Remote of may</b> <b>Negation</b>  Epistemic possibility
65	P31/L9	I might not own a home, but if I work really hard, maybe someday, my son, he' <b>ll</b> build homes.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
66	P31/L1 0	I might not be able to vote, but some day, maybe a great grandson, or a great-great grandson <b>will</b> end up being a senator or a mayor or maybe even the President of the United States.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction

67	P32/L3	Then I have confidence that change <b>will</b> happen,.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
68	P32L/L3 2	we <b>will</b> keep moving forward.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
69	P33/L3	I tried to not make promises that I <b>couldn't</b> keep	COULD N'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form Negation</b> Root ability
70	P34/L1	Michelle <b>can</b> tell you that	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
71	P34/l2	I <b>won't</b> be a perfect President	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic predictability
72	P34/L2 2	what I <b>can</b> promise you is that I will always tell you what I think	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
73	P34/L3	what I can promise you is that I <b>will</b> always tell you what I think	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
74	P34/L3 2	I <b>ll</b> always tell you where I stand,	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
75	P34/L4	I <b>will</b> spend every single day fighting as hard as I know how for you	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
76	P34/L4	then we' <b>ll</b> finish what we started.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
77	P34/L4 2	We <b>will</b> bring this economy all the way back and more	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
78	P34/L5	we' <b>ll</b> remind the world just why it is the United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention



N O.	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P3/L2	although he <b>couldn't</b> be here because he's got votes,	COULD N'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Remote of can Negation</b> Root possibility
2	P3/L3	I just want to tell you that you <b>could not</b> have a stronger advocate than your hometown boy,	COULD NOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Remote of can negation</b> Root possibility
3	P3/L5	I <b>couldn't</b> walk across that balance beam	COULD N'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Remote of can negation</b> Root ability
4	P6/L1	anyway, we <b>could not</b> be prouder of them.	COULD NOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Remote of can negation</b> Root possibility
5	P6/L8	we <b>could not</b> be prouder of them and everything they're doing on our behalf.	COULD NOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Remote of can negation</b> Root possibility
6	P7/L8	you <b>may</b> be aware there's a pretty intense campaign going on right now	MAY	Modals epistemic possibility	epistemic possibility
7	P7/L3	the choice that we face in November <b>could not</b> be bigger.	COULD NOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Remote of can negation</b> Root possibility
8	P7/L7	two fundamentally different paths that we <b>should</b> -- that we could be going down.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Subjective It's essential
9	P7/L7 2	two fundamentally different paths that we should -- that	COULD	Modal auxiliaries	<b>Remote of can</b>

		we <b>could</b> be going down.		of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	Root possibility
10	P9/L8	if you work hard, that work <b>should</b> be rewarded.	SHOUL D	Modals of necessity/o bligation	Epistemic Meaning An assessment of possibility
12	P8/L8	If you act responsibly, you <b>should</b> be able to get ahead.	SHOUL D	Modals of necessity/o bligation	Epistemic Meaning An assessment of possibility
13	P8/L9	we <b>should</b> be able to find a job that pays the bills	SHOUL D	Modals of necessity/o bligation	Epistemic Meaning An assessment of possibility
14	P10/L	We <b>should</b> be able to afford a home that we call our own	SHOUL D	Modals of necessity/o bligation	Epistemic Meaning An assessment of possibility
15	P10/L3	We <b>should</b> have health care that we can count on if we get sick.	SHOUL D	Modals of necessity/o bligation	Epistemic Meaning An assessment of possibility
16	P10/L3 2	We should have health care that we <b>can</b> count on if we get sick.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	permission
17	P10/L4	We <b>should</b> be able to retire with dignity and respect.	SHOUL D	Modals of necessity/o bligation	Epistemic Meaning An assessment of possibility
18	P10/L5	And most of all, we <b>should</b> be able to give our children the kind of education that allows them to dream even bigger and do even better than we ever imagined.	SHOUL D	Modals of necessity/o bligation	Epistemic Meaning An assessment of possibility

19	P11/L2	And we knew that restoring it <b>wouldn't</b> be easy -- we knew it would take more than one year,	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
20	P11/L3	And we knew that restoring it wouldn't be easy -- we knew it <b>would</b> take more than one year,	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic prediction
21	P13/L5	you <b>can</b> make it if you try.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
22	P14/L10	no matter how dark the other side tries to make things look, there is not another country on Earth that <b>wouldn't</b> gladly trade places with the United States of America.	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Negation hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
23	P15/L3	the notion that we <b>should</b> be going back to what we were doing that got us into this mess in the first place, instead of going forward to achieve a brighter American future.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Giving advice
24	P16/L7	And I promise you, we <b>will</b> not get there.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
25	P17/L1	the bulk of this tax cut <b>would</b> go to the very top.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
26	P17/L2	A lot of it <b>would</b> go to the wealthiest 1 percent of all households	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
27	P17/L3	the top one-tenth of one percent -- <b>would</b> get a tax cut worth almost a quarter of a million dollars	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
28	P17/L15	Folks making \$3 million a year or more <b>would</b> get a quarter-of-a-million-dollar tax cut.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
29	P18/L6	then he'd have to cut tax breaks that middle-class	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre	- hypothetical

		families depend on to pay for your home		diction /futuraity	l form of WILL=pre diction
30	P18/L10	according to this study, <b>would</b> be hit with a tax increase of more than \$2,000.	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	- hypothetica l form of WILL=pre diction
31	P19/L5	125 families like yours <b>would</b> have to pay another \$2,000 in taxes each and every year.	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	- hypothetica l form of WILL=pre diction
32	P21/L7	you <b>won't</b> see your income taxes increase by a single dime next year	WON'T	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
33	P22/L3	so that we <b>can</b> pay down our deficit and invest in things like education that are going to help us grow over the long term.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	Root possibility
34	P23/L3	I <b>ll</b> make sure government does its part.	WILL	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	Root intention
35	P23/L3	We <b>can</b> do more	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/poss ibility/perm ission	Root possibility
36	P25/L6	if you genuinely believe that that plan <b>will</b> make you better off	WILL	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	ROOT intention
37	P26/L1	But <b>wouldn't</b> you be better off,	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	<b>Past form Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
38	P26/L12	<b>wouldn't</b> we all be better off if we kept fighting for the things that have always made us strong?	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	<b>Past form Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
39	P27/L2	<b>Wouldn't</b> we be better off if we invested to develop new sources of American energy?	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/pre diction /futuraity	<b>Past form Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
40	P27/L3	<b>Wouldn't</b> we be better off if we kept investing in	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/pre	<b>Past form Negation</b>

		manufacturing so that we can sell goods around the world stamped with the words:		diction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
41	P27/L4	so that we <b>can</b> sell goods around the world stamped with the words:	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
42	P28/L1	In five years, or 10 years, or 20 years, <b>won't</b> we be better off if we've got the courage to keep moving forward?	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
43	P29/L4	I hope you' <b>ll</b> stand with me in November.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention

N O.	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P2/L1	We <b>could not</b> be prouder of our U.S. athletes	COULD NOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Remote of can Root possibility
2	P2/L3	we <b>would</b> hope that somebody would conduct themselves representing the United States.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical of root WILL=volition
3	P2/L3 2	we would hope that somebody <b>would</b> conduct themselves representing the United States.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical of root WILL=volition
4	P3/L5	because we <b>could not</b> have a bigger choice in front of us than the one that we face in November.	COULD NOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Remote of can Root possibility
5	P4/L2	where America <b>should</b> go	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Subjective
6	P5/L5	if you are putting in all your effort, then you <b>can</b> find a job that pays the bills.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
7	P5/L5 2	You <b>can</b> find a home	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
8	P5/L6	you <b>can</b> call your own.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
9	P5/L6 2	You <b>can</b> send your kids to college.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries	Root possibility

				of ability/possibility/permission	
10	P5/L6 3	You <b>won't</b> go bankrupt when you get sick.	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
11	P5/L7	You <b>can</b> retire with dignity and respect	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
12	P5/L8	the next generation <b>can</b> dream even bigger and do even better than we ever imagined.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
13	P5/L12	here in America, you <b>can</b> make it if you try	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
14	P8/L4	Too many folks still don't have a sense that tomorrow <b>will</b> be better than today.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
15	P9/L4	you <b>can</b> make it here if you try	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
16	P13/L7	it <b>will</b> lead to jobs and prosperity for everybody else.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic Prediction
17	P13/L8	That's where they' <b>ll</b> take us if they win	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
18	P14/L5	Last week we found out that to pay for this \$5 trillion tax cut, not only <b>would</b> we see them gut education investments --	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Past form Epistemic prediction
19	P15/L3	Romney's tax plan <b>would</b> also raise taxes on middle-class families by an average	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction	- hypothetical form of

		of \$2,000 each.		/futurity	WILL=pre diction
20	P16/L3	they said there's nothing in Governor Romney's plan that <b>would</b> create jobs right now.	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre diction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
21	P16/L3	This <b>would</b> all be in order to give another \$250,000 tax cut to people who are making \$3 million a year or more.	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre diction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic prediction
22	P18/L7	So if your income is \$250,000 or less, your income taxes <b>will not</b> go up a dime	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/pre diction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic predictabili ty
23	P19/L2	what we've said is you <b>can</b> afford to do a little bit more	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possi bility/permi ssion	Root ability
24	P19/L2 2	we <b>can</b> pay down our deficit and still help young people go to college	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possi bility/permi ssion	Root ability
25	P20/L2	We <b>can</b> cut out programs	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possi bility/permi ssion	Root possibility
26	P20/L2 2	to make sure we <b>can</b> invest in the things that do	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possi bility/permi ssion	possibility
27	P20/L4	We <b>can</b> make government more streamlined, more efficient.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possi bility/permi ssion	possibility
28	P23/L2	you <b>can</b> see it in every issue between myself and Mr. Romney.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possi bility/permi ssion	Root ability
29	P24/L2	I promised we' <b>d</b> end the war in Iraq -- we've ended it.	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre	<b>Past form</b>



				diction /futurity	Root intention
30	P24/L3	I said we' <b>d</b> go after al Qaeda and bin Laden – we did.	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre diction /futurity	<b>Past form</b>  Root intention
31	P25/L5	because if you fought for America, you <b>shouldn't</b> have to fight for a job or a roof over your head when you come home.	SHOUL DN'T	Modals of necessity/ob ligation	<b>negation</b> Root meaning Strong sense
32	P27/L1	here is so much that we <b>can</b> do with the savings	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possi bility/permi ssion	Permission Personal authority
33	P27/L1 2	it <b>will</b> make America stronger	WILL	Modals of volition/pre diction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
34	P27/L2	it <b>will</b> make America safer not just for the next five years	WILL	Modals of volition/pre diction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
35	P28/L3	homeowners across American <b>can</b> refinance at historically low rates,	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possi bility/permi ssion	Root possibility
36	P28/L4	How many people here <b>can</b> use an extra \$3,000?	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possi bility/permi ssion	Permission Personal authority
37	P28/L5	That <b>would</b> strengthen the housing market and put money in people's pockets	WOULD	Modals of volition/pre diction /futurity	- hypothetic al form of WILL=pre diction
38	P28/L6	that <b>will</b> make the economy stronger.	WILL	Modals of volition/pre diction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
39	P29/L1	My opponent says that we <b>should</b> go back to the days when folks went broke because they got sick.	SHOUL D	Modals of necessity/ob ligation	Root meaning Weak sense
40	P29/L9	including women who <b>can</b> have some control over their	CAN	Modal auxiliaries	Permission

		own health care decisions.		of ability/possibility/permission	Personal authority
41	P31/I3	you <b>will</b> find out it goes by even quicker.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic Prediction
42	P31/L4	during this time we <b>will</b> see the other side spend more money through these super PACs than we've ever seen -- ever.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
43	P31/L6	you <b>cannot</b> get away from their advertising.	CANNOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Negation Possibility
44	P32/L5	They' <b>ll</b> have variations on the theme, but it's the same thing over and over again.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
45	P33/L1	that <b>may</b> be a plan to try to win an election	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Epistemic possibility
46	P34/L4	It's the fact that when the American people come together, they <b>cannot</b> be stopped	CANNOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root possibility
47	P34/L5	when you guys are out there knocking on doors, making things happen, you <b>can't</b> be stopped	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root possibility
48	P37/L2	If you are as passionate and as energized and as determined as you were before, then we <b>won't</b> lose.	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
49	P37/L4	I told you I <b>would</b> always, every single day, every minute of every day, think about you, and fight as hard as I knew how for you. I have kept that promise.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
50	P38/L2	we <b>will not</b> just win this election	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic prediction

51	P38/L2 2	but we <b>will</b> finish what we started and remind the world just why it is the United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic prediction
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NO.	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P2/L3	Folks down there <b>could not</b> have been more welcoming.	COULD NOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form Negation</b>  Root Possibility
2	P3/L1	Michelle -- what <b>can</b> I say -- she was amazing.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
3	P3/L2	President Clinton made the case the way only he <b>can</b>	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
4	P4/L1	I did my best to lay out the stakes in this election, which <b>could not</b> be higher.	COULD NOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form negation</b>  root possibility
5	P5/L3	the basic bargain that says if you work hard it <b>will</b> pay off	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
6	P5/L3 2	that responsibility <b>will</b> be rewarded, that everybody gets a fair shot, and everybody is doing their fair share,	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
7	P7/L7	because they know you <b>wouldn't</b> buy it -- because we tried it.	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/prediction	- hypothetical form of WILL=prediction

				/futurity	
8	P9/L7	another round of tax breaks for millionaires <b>will</b> bring good jobs back to our shores or pay down our deficit.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
9	P11/L1	I <b>won't</b> pretend	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Root intention
10	P11/L1	I <b>will not</b> pretend that the path I'm offering is quick or easy.	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Root intention
11	P11/L4	What I said was, we <b>can</b> move forward.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility /permission	Root ability
12	P11/L4 2	We <b>can</b> make progress	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility /permission	Root ability
13	P11/L4 3	We <b>can</b> make things better.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility /permission	Root ability
14	P11/L5	We <b>can</b> strengthen our middle class	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility /permission	Root ability
15	P11/L5 W	We <b>can</b> rebuild a strong foundation for our economy.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility	Root ability

				/permissi on	
16	P13	We <b>can</b> do better.	CAN	Modal auxiliarie s of ability/p ossibility /permissi on	Root ability
17	P13/L4	There is a lot more that we <b>can</b> do.	CAN	Modal auxiliarie s of ability/p ossibility /permissi on	Root ability
18	P13/L6	you <b>can</b> tell some of these other	CAN	Modal auxiliarie s of ability/p ossibility /permissi on	Root ability
19	P13/L8	their taxes <b>will not</b> go up next year.	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/ predictio n /futuraity	<b>Negation</b>  Epistemic prediction
20	P13/L9	Everybody agrees we <b>shouldn't</b> raise taxes on the middle class	SHOULD N'T	Modals of necessity /obligati on	Root meaning Strong sense
21	P14/L1	we <b>could</b> create a million additional new jobs if this Congress would pass the jobs bill I sent them a year ago	COULD	Modal auxiliarie s of ability/p ossibility /permissi on	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
22	P14/L2	we could create a million additional new jobs if this Congress <b>would</b> pass the jobs bill I sent them a year ago	WOULD	Modals of volition/ predictio n /futuraity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic prediction
23	P14/L4	We <b>can</b> do that, but I need your help, Iowa. I need your voices.	CAN	Modal auxiliarie s of ability/p ossibility	Root possibility

				/permissi on	
24	P15/L4	concrete goals that <b>will</b> lead to new jobs and more opportunity and rebuild this economy on a stronger foundation.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic prediction
25	P15/L6	That's what we <b>can</b> do in the next four years.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
26	P16/L1	You <b>can</b> go along with the other folks and give more tax breaks to companies that are shipping jobs overseas	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	permission
27	P16/L2	we <b>can</b> start rewarding companies that are investing in new plants and equipment and training new workers and creating new jobs right here in the United States of America.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	possibility
28	P16/L4	We <b>can</b> help big factories and small businesses double their exports.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	possibility
29	P16/L5	We <b>can</b> create a million new manufacturing jobs in the next four years.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	possibility
30	P16/L6	You <b>can</b> make that happen	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	possibility
31	P17/L3	by the middle of the next decade your cars and trucks	WILL	Modals of	Epistemic prediction

		<b>will</b> go twice as far on a gallon of gas.		volition/ prediction /futura rity	
32	P17/L3 2	That <b>will</b> save you money.	WILL	Modals of volition/ prediction /futura rity	Epistemic prediction
33	P17/L4	it <b>will</b> help our environment.	WILL	Modals of volition/ prediction /futura rity	Epistemic prediction
34	P18/L7	I <b>will not</b> let oil companies write this country's energy plan.	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/ prediction /futura rity	<b>Negation</b> Root intention
35	P19/L4	we <b>can</b> develop a hundred years' supply of natural gas that's right beneath our feet	CAN	Modal auxilia ries of ability/p ossibility /permissi on	Root Possibility
36	P19/L6	And if you choose this path, we <b>can</b> cut our oil imports by half in 2020 and support more than 600,000 new jobs in natural gas alone.	CAN	Modal auxilia ries of ability/p ossibility /permissi on	Root possibility
37	P17/L9	We <b>can't</b> go backwards.	CAN'T	Modal auxilia ries of ability/p ossibility /permissi on	Root permission  reasonable ness
38	P20/L1 3	now you've got a choice. You <b>can</b> go with the other folks' plan --	CAN	Modal auxilia ries of ability/p ossibility /permissi on	Permission Personal authority
39	P21/L1	we <b>can</b> decide that here in the United States of America,	CAN	Modal auxilia ries	Permission Personal



		nobody should have their dreams set aside because of a crowded classroom or a crumbling school.		s of ability/p ossibility /permissi on	authority
40	P21/L2	we can decide that here in the United States of America, nobody <b>should</b> have their dreams set aside because of a crowded classroom or a crumbling school.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity /obligati on	Root Meaning Strong sense
41	P21/L3	No family <b>should</b> have to set aside a college acceptance letter because they don't have the money.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity /obligati on	Root meaning Strong sense
42	P21/L4	No company <b>should</b> have to look for workers in China	SHOULD	Modals of necessity /obligati on	Root meaning Strong sense
43	P21/L5	because they <b>couldn't</b> find the right skills here at home.	COULDN 'T	Modal auxiliarie s of ability/p ossibility /permissi on	<b>Remote of can</b> Negation Root possibility
44	P23/L1	But let me tell you the fourth thing -- you' <b>ll</b> love me even more.	WILL	Modals of volition/ predictio n /futuraity	Epistemic prediction
45	P23/L2	my plan <b>would</b> reduce our deficit without sticking it to the middle class.	WOULD	Modals of volition/ predictio n /futuraity	- hypothetical of root WILL=voli tion
46	P23/L3	Independent analysis has shown that my plan <b>would</b> cut deficits by \$4 trillion.	WOULD	Modals of volition/ predictio n /futuraity	- hypothetical of root WILL=voli tion
47	P23/L6	what government <b>can</b> do to help people give them a ladder up.	CAN	Modal auxiliarie s of ability/p ossibility /permissi	Root possibility

				on	
48	P25/L5	Governor Romney and his allies in Congress tell us that somehow we <b>can</b> lower our deficits -- they say that the deficit is the most important thing.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
49	P26/L5	because the economists have actually said that my opponent's plan <b>would</b> make the recovery slower, not faster.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic prediction
50	P26/L11	I refuse to ask students to pay more for college, or kick children out of Head Start programs, or eliminate health insurance for millions of Americans who are poor or elderly or disabled, just so those with the most <b>can</b> pay less	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
51	P27/L1	I <b>will</b> never turn Medicare into a voucher system	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
52	P27/L2	because no American <b>should</b> have to spend their golden years, after years of labor, at the mercy of insurance companies.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Strong sense
53	P27/L3	They <b>should</b> retire with the care and the dignity that they have earned.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Weak sense
54	P27/L4	We <b>can</b> strengthen and reform Medicare for the long haul,	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
55	P27/L5	we'll do it by reducing the cost of health care, not by just dumping the costs on seniors, asking them to pay thousands of dollars more.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention

56	P28/L3	I promised we'd end the war in Iraq	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
57	P28/L4 2	I said we'd wind down the war in Afghanistan -- we are.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
58	P29/L1	So long as I'm Commander-in-Chief, we will sustain the strongest military the world has ever known.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
59	P29/L2	when our troops take off their uniform, we will serve them as well as they've served us	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
60	P29/L4	no American who's fought for us should have to fight for a job or a roof over their heads or the care that they've earned when they come home.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Strong sense
61	P30/L1	He won't tell us how he'll end the war in Afghanistan.	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
61	P30/L1	He won't tell us how he'll end the war in Afghanistan.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
62	P30/L1	And I have, and I will.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
63	P30/L2	my opponent would spend more money on military programs	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction	- hypothetical form of WILL=prediction

				/futurity	
64	P30/L3	the Joint Chiefs say we don't need, <b>won't</b> make us safer,	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
65	P31/L3	since government <b>can't</b> do everything, it should do almost nothing.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility /permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
66	P31/L4	since government can't do everything, it <b>should</b> do almost nothing.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity /obligation	Epistemic probable
67	P31/L4 2	If you <b>can't</b> afford health insurance, their theory is, I hope you don't get sick.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility /permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
68	P31/L7	If you <b>can't</b> afford to start a business or go to college, well, take my opponent's advice and "borrow money from your parents."	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility /permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
67	P32/L5	an insurance company <b>can't</b> limit her coverage. You did that.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility /permission	<b>Negation</b> Root permission law
68	P33/L2	you <b>can</b> stay on your parent's health insurance plan.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility /permission	permission
69	P33/L5	she <b>can</b> start her life doing what she loves without being buried by debt.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility	Root possibility

				/permissi on	
70	P33/L7	You're the reason a young immigrant, who grew up here and went to school here and pledged allegiance to our flag, <b>will</b> no longer be deported from the only country she's ever called home.	WILL	Modals of volition/ prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
71	P34/L6	so if you turn back now, if you buy into the cynicism that you hear all the time that says somehow the change we fought isn't possible, well then, of course change <b>won't</b> happen.	WON'T	Modals of volition/ prediction /futurity	<b>negation</b> Epistemic predictability
72	P34/L6	If you stop, change <b>won't</b> happen.	WON'T	Modals of volition/ prediction /futurity	<b>negation</b> Epistemic predictability
73	P34/L1 1	the politicians who want to decide who you <b>can</b> marry,	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility /permission	permission
74	P34/L1 2	want to control health care choices that women <b>should</b> be making for themselves	SHOULD	Modals of necessity /obligation	Root Meaning Strong sense
75	P34/L1 2	you' <b>ll</b> leave it up to them to make decisions	WILL	Modals of volition/ prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
76	P35/L1	Only you <b>can</b> make sure that doesn't happen.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility /permission	permission
77	P36/L2	And if you do, we <b>will</b> finish what we started.	WILL	Modals of volition/ prediction	Epistemic predictability

				n /futurity	
78	P36/L2	If you use the power that you have, we <b>will</b> create more good jobs in America.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
79	P36/L2 2	We' <b>ll</b> generate more homegrown energy in America.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
80	P36/L3	We' <b>ll</b> hire more good teachers in America.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
81	P36/L4	we <b>will</b> send more young people to college right here in America.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
82	P36/L5	We' <b>ll</b> bring more troops home,	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
83	P36/L4	we' <b>ll</b> take care of more of our veterans.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
84	P36/L5	And we' <b>ll</b> open up more doors of opportunity to every American who's willing to work hard to walk through them.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
85	P36/L7	We <b>will</b> win Johnson County.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
86	P36/L8	We <b>will</b> win Iowa.	WILL	Modals of	Epistemic predictability

				volition/ prediction /futurity	ty
87	P36/L8	we' <b>II</b> remind the world why the United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth	WILL	Modals of volition/ prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictabili ty

N O.	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMATIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P2/L2	I'll admit we didn't necessarily know what you guys were up to until kind of the last minute.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
2	P2/L3	I <b>can't</b> leave Ohio without seeing my friends at the AFL-CIO.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Negation Root possibility
3	P5/L9	if they are competing fairly we <b>will</b> win every single time	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
4	P6/L1	You <b>may</b> have noticed the guy who's running against me	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Epistemic possibility
5	P7/L4	I don't think that we <b>can</b> have a lot of confidence	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
6	P9/L2	they'll tell you,	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
7	P9/L4	we'll roll back some regulations	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
8	P9/L5	then we'll go back to some more tax cuts. That's their entire agenda.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
9	P10/L2	says if you work hard, you <b>can</b> make it	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
10	P10/L4	if you're acting responsibly and looking after your family, and willing to put in the effort, you <b>can</b> afford a	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possi	Root possibility



		home that you can call your own,		bility/permission	
11	P10/L4 2	if you're acting responsibly and looking after your family, and willing to put in the effort, you can afford a home that you <b>can</b> call your own,	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
12	P10/L5	you <b>won't</b> have to worry about going bankrupt if you get sick,	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic predictability
13	P10/L5 2	you' <b>ll</b> be able to retire with some dignity and some respect.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
14	P10/L6	you' <b>ll</b> be able to save up enough to help your kids do even better than you did.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
15	P12/L6	to understand that you <b>should</b> be thinking a little bit about labor if you're a member of the NLRB.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root Meaning Weak sense
16	P13/l3	she <b>should</b> get paid just like a man does	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Strong sense
17	P16/L4	If we win this election, we' <b>ll</b> finish what we started	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
18	P16/L5	we <b>will</b> work on behalf of the working men and women of this country,	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
19	P16/L1 6	we' <b>ll</b> remind the world by the United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability

N O.	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P3/L1	Beyoncé <b>couldn't</b> be a better role model for our daughters	COULDN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Remote of can</b> <b>Negation</b> Root possibility
2	P5/L9	America you <b>can</b> make it if you work hard	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
3	P7/L3	an economy where there was a lot of irresponsibility on the part of folks who <b>should</b> have known better.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Strong sense
4	P9/L3	we <b>shouldn't</b> have millions of people who are at risk of going bankrupt just because somebody in their family got sick.	SHOULD'T	Modals of necessity/obligation	<b>Negation</b> Root meaning Strong sense
5	P9/L5	that's why we passed a health care reform law that <b>will</b> provide millions of families the kind of security they need and also make sure that we're starting to bring down health care costs,	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
6	P9/L7	that we <b>can</b> afford it	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
7	P12/L11	We understand that-- as Michelle said as well as anybody <b>could</b> -- those of us who have been blessed with success and been able to walk through those doors of opportunity	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
8	P14/L2	He hasn't been able to explain what his plan <b>would</b> be in terms of dealing with a situation like Afghanistan	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention

9	P15/L1	the stakes <b>could not</b> be higher.	COULD NOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Remote of can Root possibility
10	P15/L2	I think most of you already understand that Otherwise you <b>wouldn't</b> be here tonight.	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>negation</b> - hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
11	P15/L5	we <b>must</b> be right on the issues	MUST	Modals of necessity/obligation	Strong obligation
12	P15/L5 2	I'm sure the election <b>will</b> be fine.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
13	P17/L1	So we <b>can't</b> be complacent.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>negation</b> Permission reasonableness
14	P17/L6	in these next seven weeks we're going to have to do everything that we <b>can</b> .	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Personal authority
15	P17/L7	for others it <b>may</b> mean you're out there knocking on some doors	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Epistemic possibility
16	P18/L1	But understand that this <b>will not</b> come easy	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Negation Epistemic predictability
17	P19/L2	they <b>may not</b> follow every issue and know exactly what is going on	MAY NOT	Modals of epistemic possibility	<b>negation</b> Epistemic possibility
18	P23/L4	then our kids <b>will</b> be equipped and have the privilege to keep pushing in the right direction in the future.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction

N O.	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P5/L2	Unless your cable has been broken for a while, you <b>may</b> be aware there's an election going on.	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Epistemic possibility
2	P6/L3	Jobs and prosperity <b>will</b> rain down from the sky.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic prediction
3	P6/L4	Deficits <b>will</b> magically disappear	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic prediction
4	P6/L4 2	We <b>will</b> all live happily ever after. The end.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic prediction
5	P8/L1	I don't believe we <b>can</b> get very far with leaders who write off half the nation as a bunch of victims	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
6	P9/L1	Some of you <b>may</b> be students trying to work your way through college.	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Root possibility
7	P9/L2	Some of you <b>may</b> be single moms like my mom	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Root possibility
8	P9/L3	putting in overtime to see if you <b>can</b> provide a better life for your kids	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
9	P9/L3 2	Some of you <b>may</b> be senior citizens who have been saving your whole life for your retirement.	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Root possibility
10	P9/L5	Some of you <b>may</b> be veterans who have served this country bravely	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Root possibility
11	P10/L2	We don't believe that government <b>should</b> be helping people who refuse to help themselves.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root Meaning Strong sense

12	P11/L1	I told you before and I <b>will</b> tell you again, the path I'm offering is not necessarily going to be quick or easy	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
13	P11/L3	I <b>can</b> tell you this, Virginia, this is America.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root Ability
14	P11/L4	Our problems <b>can</b> be solved	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
15	P11/L4 2	our challenges <b>can</b> be met.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
16	P11/L1 8	There's not a country on Earth that <b>wouldn't</b> trade places with the United States of America.	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Negation</b> - hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
17	P13/L2	When my opponent said we <b>should</b> "let Detroit go bankrupt,"	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root Meaning Weak sense
18	P13/L5	We <b>can</b> build on that progress,	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
19	P13/L6	we <b>can</b> do what the other folks want to do and give more tax breaks to companies that ship jobs overseas.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
20	P14/L1	We <b>can</b> continue to see outsourcing	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
21	P14/L1 2	We <b>can</b> do some insourcing and reward companies that	CAN	Modal auxiliaries	Root possibility

		open new plants and train new workers and create new jobs right here in the United States of America.		of ability/possibility/permission	
22	P14/L4	We <b>can</b> create a million new manufacturing jobs in the next four years.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
23	P14/L5	We <b>can</b> make that happen.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
24	P15/L3	your cars and trucks <b>will</b> go twice as far on a gallon of gas.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
25	P15/L8	You <b>can</b> do what Mr. Romney wants to do and reverse all that progress -	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Personal authority
26	P16/L1	or we <b>can</b> build on it.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Personal authority
27	P17/L4	We <b>can</b> develop nearly a 100-year supply of natural gas that's right beneath our feet.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
28	P17/L5	my plan <b>would</b> cut our oil imports in half by 2020 and support more than 600,000 new jobs in natural gas alone.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	- hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
29	P19/L2	I think we <b>can</b> decide that in the United States of America	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Personal authority
30	P19/L3	no child <b>should</b> have her dream deferred because of a overcrowded classroom	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Strong

					Sense
31	P19/L4	No family <b>should</b> have to set aside a college acceptance letter because they didn't have the money.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Strong Sense
32	P19/L6	No company <b>should</b> have to look for workers in China	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Strong sense
33	P19/L6 2	because they <b>couldn't</b> find ones with the right skills right here in Virginia.	COULDN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Remote of can Root possibility
34	P23/L4	And when you ask them, well, how does that work, they <b>can't</b> explain it.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root Ability
35	P23/L4	They <b>won't</b> say how they'd pay for \$5 trillion in new tax cuts without raising taxes on middle-class families.	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic prediction
36	P23/L5	They won't say how they'd pay for \$5 trillion in new tax cuts without raising taxes on middle-class families.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	- hypothetical of root WILL=volition
37	P23/L7	The reason they <b>can't</b> explain it is because the math doesn't work.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
38	P24/L3	I <b>will</b> refuse to ask middle-class families to give up their deductions for owning a home or raising kids just so millionaires get another tax cut.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
39	P24/L8	including the poor and the elderly and the disabled — just to pay for more tax cuts that we <b>can't</b> afford.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
40	P25/L1	I promise you, I <b>will</b> refuse to turn Medicare into a voucher.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction	Root intention

				/futurity	
41	P25/L2	Americans who have worked hard <b>shouldn't</b> have to spend their golden years at the mercy of insurance companies.	SHOULDN'T	Modals of necessity/obligation	<b>Negation</b> Weak sense
42	P25/L3	They <b>should</b> retire with the care and the dignity they have earned	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	<b>Negation</b> Weak sense
43	P25/L4	we' <b>ll</b> reform and strengthen Medicare for the long haul,	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
44	P25/L5	we' <b>ll</b> do it by reducing the cost of health care	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
45	P25/L6	Just like we' <b>ll</b> keep the promise of Social Security	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
46	P25/L7	we <b>will not</b> be slashing benefits or turning it over to Wall Street, like some have proposed. That's the wrong way to go.	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Negation</b> Root intention
47	P27/L4	we <b>will</b> sustain the strongest military the world has ever known.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
48	P28/L1	when our troops come home and take off their uniform, we <b>will</b> serve them as well as they've served us	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
49	P28/L3	because nobody who has fought for us <b>should</b> have to fight for a job or a roof over their heads when they come home.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Strong sense
50	P28/L5	still <b>won't</b> tell us how he'd end the war in Afghanistan.	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Negation</b> Root intention
51	P28/L5	still won't tell us how he' <b>d</b> end the war in Afghanistan.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	- hypothetical of root WILL=volition
52	P28/L6	and I <b>will</b>	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction	Root intention



				/futurity	
53	P28/L6	I'll use the money we're no longer spending on war to pay down our debt and put more folks to work back here in the United States rebuilding roads and bridges, runways, broadband lines, schools.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
54	P29/L3	that since government <b>can't</b> do everything,	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
55	P29/L4	it <b>should</b> do almost nothing	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Epistemic Meaning
56	P29/L5	If you <b>can't</b> afford health insurance, hope you don't get sick.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
57	P29/L7	If you <b>can't</b> afford to go to college, just borrow some money from your parents.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
58	P29/L10	government <b>can</b> solve all our problems.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
59	P30/L8	We understand that America is not what <b>can</b> be done for us	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
60	P30/L9	but what <b>can</b> be done by us together, as one nation, as one people.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
61	P31/L1	I'll say it again	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
62	P31/L5	You're the reason a veteran in	CAN	Modal	Root

		Virginia Beach <b>can</b> go to college on the new GI Bill.		auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	possibility
63	P32/L1	You're the reason why an outstanding soldier <b>won't</b> be kicked out of our military just because of who he loves	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic predictability
64	P32/L3	You're the reason why families all across this country <b>can</b> welcome home loved ones who served us so bravely, give them that hug, know they're back and safe.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
65	P33/L2	I said, one thing I've learned is that you <b>can't</b> change Washington just from the inside.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root Permission Law/rules
66	P34/L2	"I'll get the job done from the inside."	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
67	P35/L1	If it's the job of letting politicians decide who you <b>can</b> marry,	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission
68	P35/L2	that women <b>should</b> be able to make for themselves, we'll take a pass.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root Meaning Strong sense
69	P35/L6	It <b>can't</b> happen if you write off half the nation before you even took office.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root possibility
70	P36/L2	I <b>may not</b> have won your vote	MAY NOT	Modals of epistemic possibility	<b>Negation</b> Root possibility
71	P36/L3	I <b>will</b> be your President	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
72	P36/L6	but I'm telling the American people I <b>will</b> be fighting for you no matter what.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction	Root intention

				/futurity	
73	P36/L7	I <b>will</b> be your President no matter what	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
74	P39/L2	we' <b>ll</b> win Prince William County	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
75	P39/L2 2	We <b>will</b> win Virginia	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
76	P39/L2 3	We' <b>ll</b> finish what we've started	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
77	P39/L3	we' <b>ll</b> remind the world why the United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability

N O.	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P1/L3	I <b>will</b> be raining down jumpers on them.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
2	P2/L1	<b>Can</b> everybody please give Katie an unbelievable round of applause for that great L2 introduction?	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
3	P3/L5	So you <b>can</b> register and vote at your early vote location.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
4	P4/L1	some of you <b>may</b> have heard, last night we had our first debate.	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Root possibility
5	P4/L4	I know it <b>couldn't</b> have been Mitt Romney	COULD N'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Remote of can  Root possibility
6	P5/L1	he said he loves teachers -- <b>can't</b> get enough of them.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b>  Root possibility
7	P5/L5	And he said, if that's true, he <b>must</b> need a new accountant.	MUST	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning necessary
8	P6/L4	Governor Romney <b>may</b> dance around his positions	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Epistemic possibility
9	P6/L4	he <b>may</b> do a tap dance and a two-step, but if you want to be President, then you owe the American people the truth.	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Epistemic possibility
10	P7/L1	Governor Romney <b>cannot</b> pay for his \$5 trillion tax plan without blowing up the deficit or sticking it to the middle class.	CANNOT	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b>  Root possibility
11	P7/L2	We <b>can't</b> afford to go down that road again.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of	<b>Negation</b>

				ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
12	P7/L3	We <b>can't</b> afford another round of budget-busting tax cuts for the wealthy.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
13	P7/L4	We <b>can't</b> afford to gut our investments in education, or clean energy, or research, or technology	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
14	P7/L5	We <b>can't</b> afford to roll back regulations on Wall Street banks or oil companies or insurance companies.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
15	P7/L6	We <b>can't</b> afford to double down on the same top-down economic policies that got us into this mess.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
16	P10/L6	we <b>should</b> "let Detroit go bankrupt."	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Weak sense
17	P11/L2	And so we <b>can</b> keep giving tax breaks to companies that are shipping jobs overseas	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
18	P11/L3	we <b>can</b> start rewarding companies that are opening new plants and training new workers right here in Wisconsin	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
19	P11/L7	You <b>can</b> make that happen, but you're going to have to vote.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Personal authority
20	P12/L3	your cars and trucks <b>will</b> go twice as far on a gallon of gas.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
23	P13/L2	farmers and scientists <b>can</b> harness biofuels to power our cars and our trucks	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root Possibility
24	P13/L5	we <b>can</b> cut our oil imports in half by 2020.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
25	P13/L5 2	We <b>can</b> support hundreds of thousands of jobs all across the country.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility

26	P15/L1	<b>Would</b> gut education to pay for more tax breaks for the wealthy.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical of root WILL=volition
27	P15/L3	no child <b>should</b> have her dream deferred because of an overcrowded classroom	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Strong sense
28	P15/L4	No family <b>should</b> have to set aside an acceptance letter to go to the University of Wisconsin because they don't have the money.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Strong sense
29	P15/L6	No company <b>should</b> have to look for workers in China	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Strong sense
30	P15/L7	they <b>couldn't</b> find any with the right skills here in the United States.	COULD N'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Remote of can Root possibility
31	P15/L10	childhood education, give 2 million workers the chance to learn skills at the community college that <b>will</b> lead directly to a job	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
32	P15/L12	That's a goal we <b>can</b> meet.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
33	P15/L122	We <b>can</b> choose that future for America.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Personal authority
34	P18/L2	we've got to ask folks who <b>can</b> afford it to do a little bit more.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
35	P18/L22	Now, last night, this <b>may</b> have actually been the real Mitt Romney,	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Epistemic Possibility
36	P18/L7	When he was asked what he <b>would</b> do to actually cut spending and reduce the deficit	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
37	P18/L8	he said he' <b>d</b> eliminate public television funding	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention

38	P20/L3	we <b>can't</b> afford.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
39	P20/L3 2	I <b>will not</b> turn Medicare into a voucher	WILL NOT	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Root intention
40	P20/L5	No American <b>should</b> ever have to spend their golden years at the mercy of insurance companies.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Weak sense
41	P20/L6	They <b>should</b> retire with dignity and the care that they've earned	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Weak sense
42	P20/L7	So we <b>can</b> reform Medicare the right way by reducing health care costs, not by asking seniors to pay thousands of dollars more.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
43	P20/L9	we <b>will</b> keep the promise of Social Security;	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root Intention
44	P20/L9 2	But we <b>won't</b> turn it over to Wall Street.	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
45	P21/L3	I said we' <b>d</b> wind down the war in Afghanistan in a responsible way, and we are.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
46	P21/L4	so long as I'm Commander-in-Chief, we' <b>ll</b> sustain the strongest military the world has ever known.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
47	P21/L4	we' <b>ll</b> serve them as well as they've served us.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
48	P21/L5	Nobody <b>should</b> have to fight for a job, or a roof over their head when they have fought for America's freedom.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Strong sense
49	P21/L6	We <b>will</b> honor that commitment.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention

50	P22/L2	He <b>won't</b> tell us L3 how he'd end the war in Afghanistan.	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Negation Epistemic prediction
51	P22/L3	He won't tell us how he'd end the war in Afghanistan.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical of root WILL=volition
52	P22/L3 2	I <b>will</b> .	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
53	P23/L2	he other side <b>will</b> tell you that since government can't do everything, it should do almost nothing	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
54	P23/L2 2	he other side will tell you that since government <b>can't</b> do everything, it should do almost nothing	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
55	P23/L2 3	he other side will tell you that since government can't do everything, it <b>should</b> do almost nothing.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Epistemic possibility
56	P23/L3	If you <b>can't</b> afford health insurance, hope you don't get sick.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
57	P23/L5	If you <b>can't</b> afford to start a business or go to college, borrow money from your parents.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
58	P24/L3	We understand it's not about what <b>can</b> be done for us.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root Possibility
59	P24/L3	It's about what <b>can</b> be done by us	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
60	P24/L8	they <b>can</b> use to buy groceries, and put gas in the car, and pay their bills.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Personal authority
61	P25/L2	you're the reason a young immigrant who went to school here, grew up here, pledged allegiance to our flag, <b>will</b> no longer be	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability



		deported from the only country			
62	P25/L3	You're the reason an outstanding soldier <b>won't</b> be kicked out of the military just because of who he loves.	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Epistemic predictability
64	P26/L1	that's why you <b>can't</b> buy into the cynicism that is so prevalent, the idea that the change we fought for somehow isn't possible	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Permission reasonableness
65	P26/L8	You <b>can't</b> let that happen	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Permission reasonableness
66	P27/L3	It certainly <b>can't</b> happen if you're someone who wants to lead the nation but writes off half the nation before you even take office.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root possibility
67	P27/L7	I <b>may not</b> have won your vote	MAY NOT	Modals of epistemic possibility	<b>Negation</b> Root possibility
67	P27/L8	I <b>will</b> be your President	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
68	P28/L1	I don't know how many folks <b>will</b> vote for me this time,	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
69	P28/L2	but I want you to know I <b>ll</b> be with you no matter what.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
70	29/L6	if you stand with me, and work with me, we <b>will</b> win Madison again.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
71	P29/L6 2	We <b>ll</b> win Wisconsin again.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
72	P29/L6 3	We <b>will</b> win the election again.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability

73		We'll finish what we started in 2008, and remind the world why the United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
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NO.	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P1/L2	otherwise Clint Eastwood <b>will</b> yell at them	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
2	P3/L2	voters in states like Ohio and Virginia and Florida <b>will</b> decide this incredibly important election	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
3	P4/L4	who <b>could</b> very well be president someday	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Remote of can Root possibility
4	P5/L2	As some of you <b>may</b> have noticed, I had a lot more energy at our second debate.	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Root possibility
5	P6/L2	I learned that there are worse things that <b>can</b> happen to you on your anniversary than forgetting to buy a gift.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
6	P6/L5	Mayor Bloomberg <b>will</b> only let me have 16 ounces of it.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
7	P9/L3	I have to admit it <b>can</b> be a grind.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
8	P10/L2	I just thought it <b>would</b> be useful to remind everybody that the unemployment rate is at the lowest it's been since I took office.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
9	P11/L2	I <b>may</b> have.	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Root possibility
10	P11/L3	I wish I <b>could</b> use my middle name.	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Remote of Can possibility
11	P11/L6	I <b>will</b> have a chance to	WILL	Modals of	Epistemic

		answer the question that is on the minds of millions of Americans watching at home:		volition/prediction /futurity	prediction
12	P12/L7	, just so everyone knows, in our third debate we <b>won't</b> spend a whole lot of time interrupting each other.	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Negation Epistemic predictability
13	P12/L8	We <b>will</b> also interrupt the moderator, just to mix things up.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
14	P13/L5	In all seriousness, I <b>couldn't</b> be more honored to be here this evening.	COULD N'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Remote of Can possibility
15	P14/L6	opposing candidates <b>can</b> share the same stage	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
16	P14/L7	people from both parties <b>can</b> come together	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
17	P14/L10	And I particularly want to thank Governor Romney for joining me, because I admire him very much as a family man and a loving father, and those are two titles that <b>will</b> always matter more than any political ones	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
18	P15/L1	we <b>may</b> have different political perspectives	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Root possibility
19	P15/L2	I'm certain –that we share the hope that the next four years <b>will</b> reflect the same decency and the same willingness to come together for a higher purpose that are on display this evening.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability

N O.	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P1/L2	I <b>can't</b> hear you!	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
2	P2/L2	<b>Can</b> everybody please give Cecile a big round of applause for the great introduction and the work she does.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root permission
3	P4/L1	He wants you to believe that somehow he' <b>ll</b> create 12 million jobs,	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
4	P4/L2	None of this <b>will</b> add to the deficit.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
5	P5/L1	If he offered you that deal when he was in corporate finance, you <b>wouldn't</b> give him a dime.	WOULD N'T	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Past form</b> Epistemic prediction
6	P5/L2	So why <b>would</b> you give him his vote?	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
7	P5/L4	We <b>can't</b> go back to that	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission reasonableness
8	P8/L1	He <b>may not</b> have noticed, we're in the 21st century.	MAY NOT	Modals of epistemic possibility	Epistemic possibility
9	P8/L2	This <b>should</b> be a no-brainer.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Epistemic meaning assumption
10	P8/L4	Why <b>should</b> this be hard?	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning
11	P9/L1	He <b>can't</b> tell you.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
12	P9/L1	I <b>can</b> .	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility	Root ability

				ity/permission	
13	P9/L3	No man <b>should</b> want his wife, or his daughters paid less than a man for doing the same job.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Epistemic assumption
14	P10/L4	Governor Romney said he'd have supported an extreme measure in Massachusetts	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
15	P10/L5	that <b>could</b> have outlawed some forms of contraception	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
16	P10/L6	when he joined the far right of his party to support a bill that <b>would</b> have allowed any employer to deny contraceptive care to their employees --	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Past form Root intention
17	P11/L2	I don't think your boss <b>should</b> decide what's best for your health and safety.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning objective
18	P12/L2	I don't think your insurance company gets to decide what care you <b>should</b> get.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning objective
19	P12/L1	I sure don't think any politician <b>should</b> decide.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning
20	P13/L2	The only person who <b>should</b> decide about your health care is you.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning
21	P13/L7	because I do not believe a working mother <b>should</b> have to put off a mammogram just because money is tight.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning
22	P14/L3	I don't think a college student in Charlottesville or Blacksburg or Fairfax <b>should</b> have to choose between textbooks or the preventive care that she needs.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning
23	P15/L1	Insurance companies <b>can</b> no longer put lifetime limits on your care or	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility	Permission law

		discriminate against children with preexisting conditions		ity/permission	
24	P15/L2	And soon, they' <b>ll</b> no longer be able to charge women more for the same care just because they're women.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
25	P16/L4	he' <b>ll</b> rubber-stamp the agenda of this Republican Congress the second he L5 takes office.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
26	P16/L5	Virginia, we <b>can't</b> give him that chance.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission reasonableness
27	P17/L6	Freedom is the knowledge that you' <b>ll</b> no longer be charged more than men for the same health care, or denied affordable coverage just because you beat cancer.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
28	P18/L1	When the next President and Congress <b>could</b> tip the balance of the highest court in the land in a way that turns back the clock for women and families for decades to come, you don't want someone who needs to ask for binders of women.	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Remote of can permission
29	P19/L7	He's forgetting what his own positions are, and he's betting that you <b>will</b> , too.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
30	P20/L4	you keep refusing to say whether or not you' <b>d</b> sign a bill that protects equal pay for equal work	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
31	P20/L5	you <b>might</b> have Romnesia.	MIGHT	Modals of epistemic possibility	possibility
32	P20/L5	If you say women <b>should</b> have access to contraceptive care, but you support legislation that would let your employer deny you contraceptive care	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root Meaning objective

33	P20/L6	If you say women should have access to contraceptive care, but you support legislation that <b>would</b> let your employer deny you contraceptive care	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical of root WILL=volition
34	P20/L7	you <b>might</b> have a case of Romnesia.	MIGHT	Modals of epistemic possibility	possibility
35	P20/L8	If you say you' <b>ll</b> protect a woman's right to choose, but you stand up at a primary debate and said that you'd be delighted to sign a law outlying –	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
36	P20/L9	If you say you'll protect a woman's right to choose, but you stand up at a primary debate and said that you' <b>d</b> be delighted to sign a law outlying –	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
37	P21/L6	this plant <b>will</b> kill you	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic prediction
38	P22/L2	you <b>can't</b> seem to remember the policies that are still on your website	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Negation Root possibility
39	P22/L6	We <b>can</b> fix you up.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
40	P22/L7	We <b>can</b> make you well, Virginia.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
41	P24/L1	I told you we' <b>d</b> end the war in Iraq	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
42	P24/L2	I said we' <b>d</b> end the war in Afghanistan -- we are	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
43	P24/L2	I said we' <b>d</b> refocus on the terrorists who actually attacked us on 9/11, and we have.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
44	P25/L1	When Governor Romney	WOULD	Modals of	<b>Past form</b>



		said we'd let		volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
45	P25/L1 2	he'd let Detroit go bankrupt,	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b>  Root intention
46	P27/L4	That's how we'll keep moving forward.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
47	P27/L6	you can choose between top-down economic policies that got us into this mess, or the middle class-out policies that are getting us out of this mess.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission  Personal authority
48	P28/L1	you can choose a foreign policy that gets us into wars with no plan to get out,	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission  Personal authority
49	P28/L2	or you can say let's end the Afghan war responsibly;	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission  Personal authority
50	P28/L4	you can let them turn back the clock 50 years for immigrants,	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission  Personal authority
51	P28/L5	or we can stand up and say we are a country in which everybody has a place.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission  Personal authority
53	P29/L4	we will win Fairfax County again.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
54	P29/L5	We will win Virginia again	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
55	P29/L5 2	We'll finish what we started.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
56	P29/L5 3	we'll remind the world why the United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability

## T 15

NO	INDEX	THE SENTENCE	MODAL AUXILIARY	SEMANTIC CLUSTER	SEMANTIC MEANING
1	P2/L4	We just made a quick stop in Chicago so I <b>could</b> vote.	COULD	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Past form</b> Root possibility
2	P2/L4	I <b>can't</b> tell you who I voted for because it's a secret ballot.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root possibility
3	P4/L2	Here in Ohio, you <b>can</b> vote now.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Personal authority
4	P5/L3	He's hoping you <b>won't</b> remember that his economic plan is more likely to create jobs in China than here in Ohio	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Root intention
5	P9/L1	He's hoping you <b>won't</b> remember that he wants to give millionaires and billionaires a \$250,000 tax cut.	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Root intention
6	P9/L2	the reason he <b>can't</b> explain it is because the only way to pay for it is either by blowing a hole in the deficit, making it even bigger, or making your taxes higher.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	<b>Negation</b> Root ability
7	P10/L2	that you <b>won't</b> remember he wrote an article that was titled "Let Detroit Go Bankrupt."	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Negation</b> Root intention
8	P11/L5	we <b>might not</b> have an American auto industry today.	MIGHT NOT	Modals of epistemic possibility	<b>Negation</b> Remote of may possibility
9	P11/L6	We'd be buying cars from China, instead of selling cars to China.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical form of WILL=prediction
10	P12/L5	And I'd do it again, because that bet always pays off.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	- hypothetical of root WILL=volition

					tion
11	P12/L7	in the closing moments of the election, Governor Romney is hoping you, too, <b>will</b> come down with a severe case of Romnesia.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root willingness
12	P13/L5	We <b>can</b> fix you up.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
13	P13/L5	We <b>can</b> make you well.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
14	P14/L10	we <b>may not</b> have gotten every single thing done that we need to get done, but I have kept the commitments and the promises that I made.	MAY NOT	Modals of epistemic possibility	<b>Negation</b> Root possibility
15	P15/L1	I told you I' <b>d</b> end the war in Iraq -- and we did	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
16	P15/L1	I said we' <b>d</b> transition out of Afghanistan -- and we are.	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
17	P15/L2	I said we' <b>d</b> refocus on the terrorists who actually carried out the 9/11 attacks -	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
18	P15/L9	they <b>should</b> know this: As long as I'm your Commander-in-Chief, I will sustain the strongest military the world has ever known.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Weak sense
19	P15/L10	they should know L10 this: As long as I'm your Commander-in-Chief, I <b>will</b> sustain the strongest military the world has ever known.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
20	P16/L6	I promised that we <b>would</b> make sure that nobody in this great country of ours goes bankrupt if somebody in their family gets sick	WOULD	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	<b>Past form</b> Root intention
21	P17/L1	I said that we <b>would</b>	WOULD	Modals of	<b>Past form</b>

		keep the American auto industry going, and today its engines are roaring at full throttle.		volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
22	P17/L3	Midwest <b>can</b> be proud of	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
23	P17/L3 2	something America <b>can</b> be proud of.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
24	P18/L2	We <b>can't</b> go backwards to the policies that caused us so much trouble, that hurt so many families.	CAN'T	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission reasonableness
25	P19/L3	I've got a plan that <b>will</b> actually create jobs	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
26	P19/L3 2	a plan that <b>will</b> actually create middle-class security.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
27	P19/L8	Some of you <b>may</b> be still trying to make up your mind.	MAY	Modals of epistemic possibility	Root possibility
28	P20/L4	Grandma, I <b>ll</b> come.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
29	P20/L8	so your cars and trucks <b>will</b> go twice as far on a gallon of gas	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Epistemic predictability
30	P22/L4	We <b>can</b> do that	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
31	P22/L11	We <b>can</b> do that.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
32	P23/L1	Number four, my plan <b>will</b> cut the deficit by \$4 trillion over the next 10 years.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction /futurity	Root intention
33	P23/L2	We <b>can</b> do it without sticking it to the middle class	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibil	Root possibility

				ity/permission	
34	P23/L5	so that we <b>can</b> invest in the research and technology to keep new jobs and businesses coming to America.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
35	P24/L2	Because Americans <b>should not</b> be spending their golden years at the mercy of insurance companies.	SHOULD not	Modals of necessity/obligation	<b>Negation</b> Root meaning Strong sense
36	P24/L6	Women <b>can</b> make those decisions themselves.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Personal authority
37	P24/L7	That's what I'll continue to stand for as President of the United States of America.	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Root intention
38	P26/L3	because nobody <b>should</b> have to fight for a job when you've fought for your country.	SHOULD	Modals of necessity/obligation	Root meaning Strong sense
39	P26/L4	You <b>shouldn't</b> have to fight for a roof over your heads when you've fought for your country.	SHOULDN'T	Modals of necessity/obligation	<b>Negation</b> Root meaning Strong sense
40	P27/L1	That's what we <b>can</b> do	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
41	P27/L2	But we <b>can</b> only do it together.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
42	P28/L1	We <b>can</b> go back to the top-down policies that we know in our gut won't work,	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
43	P28/L1 2	We can go back to the top-down policies that we know in our gut <b>won't</b> work,	WON'T	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
44	P28/L2	you <b>can</b> choose the policies that we know give us the prospect of broad-based prosperity.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Personal authority
45	P28/L3	You <b>can</b> choose a foreign policy like Governor Romney is offering that's	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibil	Permission Personal authority

		reckless and wrong		ity/permission	
46	P28/L4	you <b>can</b> choose the kind of policy that I've implemented that is steady and strong.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Personal authority
47	P28/L5	You <b>can</b> choose to turn back the clock 50 years for women and immigrants and gays	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Personal authority
48	P28/L7	in this election, you <b>can</b> stand up for that basic principle enshrined in our founding documents	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Permission Personal authority
49	P28/L12	if you're willing to stand up, you <b>can</b> make it here in America if you try.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
50	P31/L1	And we <b>can</b> write that next chapter together.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root possibility
51	P31/L3	I promise you, you <b>will</b> continue to have a President who hears your voices	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability
52	P31/L6	I <b>can</b> make sure that your lives are a little bit better, and more importantly, that all of our children's lives are a whole lot brighter.	CAN	Modal auxiliaries of ability/possibility/permission	Root ability
53	P32/L5	We'll remind the world why the United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth	WILL	Modals of volition/prediction/futurity	Epistemic predictability

Text 1: Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Remarks at a Campaign Event  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
June 12, 2012

P1

L1 Hello! (Applause.) Thank you! How's it going Philadelphia? (Applause.) Well, it is  
L2 good to be back in Philadelphia. (Applause.) It is good to be among so many good  
L3 friends, including Benjamin Franklin -- one of my favorite Founders. (Laughter.) I  
L4 have to admit, I had to restrain myself because this is such an amazing facility, and  
L5 just wandering around I started reading about all kinds of American history and  
L6 that the Dead Sea Scrolls were here. (Laughter.) Staff was saying, Mr. President,  
L7 you have some other stuff that you have to do.

P2

L1 There are a couple of acknowledgments that I want to make. First of all, you've got  
L2 one of the best mayors in the country, Mayor Michael Nutter is here. (Applause.)  
L3 You've got a couple of the finest members of Congress in Bob Brady and Chaka  
L4 Fattah. (Applause.) And you've got somebody here who's been one of my dearest  
L5 friends and one of my favorite people who has always had my back, and he and I  
L6 share a lot in common -- we both pretend to play basketball, even though we're  
L7 way too old. (Laughter.) We both married up and we both have extraordinary  
L8 daughters. He happens also to be one of the best members of the Senate that we  
L9 have -- Bob Casey is in the house. (Applause.)

P3

L1 So I'm here not just because I need your help -- although I do. (Laughter.) I'm here  
L2 because the country needs your help. When you think back to 2008, a lot of you  
L3 were involved in that campaign. You didn't get involved because you thought  
L4 Barack Obama was the odds-on favorite to become President of the United States.  
L5 Let's face it. (Laughter.) That was a long shot. The reason we came together was  
L6 because we shared a belief in the basic bargain that built this country; the idea that  
L7 if you're willing to work hard, if you're willing to take responsibility, that in this  
L8 country you **can** make it. That you **can** find a job that pays a living wage, and you  
L9 **can** save and buy a home. You **can** send your kids to college so they do even better  
L10 than you did. You **can** retire with some dignity and some respect. The idea that  
L11 no matter where you come from, no matter what you look like, no matter what  
L12 your faith, no matter who you love, that in America you **can** make it if you try.

P4

L1 It's that idea that builds the broadest middle class in the history of the world --  
L2 (applause) -- and that was and has been the strength of America, the backbone of  
L3 America -- is that everybody had a shot. And we felt back in 2008 that those ideals  
L4 were being lost, that we had taken a wrong turn. We had taken a surplus, left  
L5 behind by President Clinton, and turned it into deficits as far as the eye **could** see  
L6 -- not because we invested in our economic future, but because we gave tax cuts to  
L7 folks who didn't need them and weren't even asking for them. We put two wars on  
L8 a credit card. Our economy increasingly was built on financial speculation and a  
L9 housing bubble. Manufacturing was leaving our shores.



P5

L1 And although a few people were doing really, really well, that broad-based middle  
L2 class that built this country, that was the essence of this country, found themselves  
L3 -- you found yourselves -- in a situation where wages, incomes were flat-lining,  
L4 and job growth was the most sluggish it had been in 50, 60 years, and the cost of  
L5 everything from health care to college education kept on going up and up and up.  
L6 And it all culminated in the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression –  
L7 three million jobs lost in the six months before I took office, while we were  
L8 campaigning; 800,000 jobs lost the month that I was sworn into office.

P6

L1 And so we had to make a series of tough decisions and decisive decisions and  
L2 quick decisions, and we had to do it without much help from the other side. But  
L3 the thing that gave me confidence throughout was what I had learned about the  
L4 American people as I traveled all across the country -- and it is a great privilege  
L5 just running for President, and obviously a greater privilege being President,  
L6 because you meet Americans from every walk of life, and they show you their grit  
L7 and they show you their determination. And it turns out Americans are tougher  
L8 than any tough times. (Applause.)

P7

L1 And so when some people said we **should** let Detroit go bankrupt, we decided, no,  
L2 we're going to make a bet on the American worker and American industry. And  
L3 because of the actions that we took, GM is back on top and we're seeing the auto  
L4 industry rehiring and producing better cars than ever. (Applause.) We helped to  
L5 stabilize the financial system so small businesses **could** get help again and get  
L6 credit and financing flowing again. (Applause.) Businesses got back to basics and  
L7 we created 4.3 million jobs over the last 27 months; 800,000 this year alone.  
(Applause.)

P8

L1 So we've made progress. And the reason we made progress was in part because of  
L2 our policies, but in part because Americans everywhere figured out how they were  
L3 going to respond. And so you had small business owners who decided, I'm not  
L4 going to lay off these workers because their families are counting on their job  
L5 that maybe I'll take out less this year, maybe I **won't** even pay myself a salary this  
L6 year so I **can** keep my doors open.

P9

L1 And you had folks who were laid off at the age of 45 or 50 and they decided, you  
L2 know what, I'm not just going to give up, I'm going to retrain and I'm going to find  
L3 a job for the future, even if it means I'm sitting in a classroom with kids who are  
L4 my kid's age. All across the country people made tough decisions, but they were  
L5 determined to move forward because, Americans, we don't quit. We don't quit.  
(Applause.)

P10

L1 And so we **can** say that we are in a stronger position, we are moving in a better  
L2 direction, than when I took office. (Applause.) Now, does that mean that I'm  
L3 satisfied? Does that mean we are satisfied? Absolutely not. Because we have too  
L4 many friends and neighbors who are still out of work. We know too many people  
L5 whose homes are still underwater. Too many folks who still have too much trouble



L6 paying the bills at the end of the month. These problems that we've got, they  
L7 weren't created overnight, and we never thought they'd be solved overnight. But  
L8 we understand where we need to go. We understand we've got to keep moving  
L9 forward. And we understand that the last thing we need is to go back to the very  
L10 same policies that got us into this mess in the first place. (Applause.)

P11

L1 And let me tell you something: That is all the other side is offering. That's all  
L2 they're offering. Governor Romney is a patriotic American, he's got a lovely  
L3 family and he **should** be proud of his personal success. But his ideas are just  
L4 retreads of stuff that we have tried and that have failed. Bill Clinton described it  
L5 well the other day -- he said, they want to do the same thing, just on steroids.  
(Laughter and applause.)

P12

L1 If you really pay attention -- and one of our jobs during this election is to get folks  
L2 to pay attention to what the other side is actually offering -- (applause) -- then it  
L3 boils down to deeper tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans, \$5 trillion in tax cuts  
L4 on top of the Bush tax cuts, an average of a 25 percent tax cut for millionaires all  
L5 across the country, and the elimination of regulations that **would** make sure that  
L6 Wall Street doesn't engage in the kind of behavior that resulted in this crisis; that  
L7 **would** roll back the kinds of progress we've made making sure insurance  
L8 companies **can't** drop you when you get sick; that **would** roll back environmental  
L9 and worker protection and consumer protections that we have been working on not  
L10 just during my administration, but for the last 30, 40 years. And that's it. That's  
L11 the essence of what they're offering.

P13

L1 And I guess he thinks either it **would** result in a different outcome than it did when  
L2 we just tried this 10 years ago, or he and the Republican Congress are counting on  
L3 the notion that we forgot how it turned out. (Laughter.) We didn't forget. We  
L4 remember. We're not going back. We're moving forward, and that's why I'm  
L5 running for a second term as President of the United States of America. (Applause.)

P14

L1 I'm running to make sure that we keep bringing manufacturing and industry back  
L2 to Philadelphia, back to Pittsburgh, back to Pennsylvania, back to Ohio.  
L3 (Applause.) I want to stop giving tax breaks for companies that are shipping jobs  
L4 overseas. I want those tax breaks to go to companies that are investing right here  
L5 in the United States of America. (Applause.)

P15

L1 I'm running to make sure that we continue on a path of providing the best  
L2 education possible for every single one of our children, and make sure that we've  
L3 got the highest rates of college graduates of any country on Earth, because that's  
L4 going to be the future. (Applause.) We took a student loan program where tens of  
L5 billions of dollars were being funneled to banks as middlemen in the student loan  
L6 program; we said, why don't we just give that money directly to students.  
L7 (Applause.) And as a consequence, we've got millions of students who are  
L8 benefiting from higher Pell grants -- more kids are eligible. We're able to make  
L9 sure that we **can** cap the amount of money that folks have to pay back each month  
L10 on their student loans, because we recognized that a higher education **cannot** be a

L11 luxury. You **can't** just count on the fact that your parents are paying for your  
L12 college education -- a lot of kids need help. And that's good for the country. We're  
L13 not going backwards on that, we're going to keep moving forward. (Applause.)

P16

L1 I'm running because I want to continue to see America be the best innovator in the  
L2 world. When you think about Benjamin Franklin -- I just had a chance to talk to  
L3 these outstanding students from a science and leadership academy who graduated.  
L4 (Applause.) There are some of them over there, or at least some teachers. And I  
L5 told them, what's America about? We've been about technology and discovery and  
L6 invention, dating back to this guy. (Laughter.)

P17

L1 That's how we became an economic superpower. So the notion that we **would** now  
L2 shortchange our investments in science and basic research, the possible cures for  
L3 cancer or Alzheimer's, or the clean energy that **can** make sure that we're doing  
L4 something about climate change and saving money for families -- that's not the  
L5 answer rolling back those investments. We've got to move forward. We're not  
L6 going to move backwards. That's why I'm running for President of the United  
L7 States again. (Applause.)

P18

L1 I'm running because I want us to continue to build this country. We are a nation of  
L2 builders. The Mayor and I were talking as we were driving from the airport about  
L3 all the projects, all the infrastructure, all the folks being put back to work making  
L4 Philadelphia a more attractive place for people to do business. (Applause.)

P19

L1 And all across the country, I want us to rebuild our roads and our bridges, our  
L2 airports. I want us to build broadband lines and high-speed rail and wireless  
L3 networks so that we have the platform for businesses to succeed all across this  
L4 country. (Applause.) That's why I'm running for President. We're not going  
L5 backwards. I want to put people back to work rebuilding America. (Applause.)

P20

L1 I'm running because I believe in America's energy future. Since I've been President  
L2 -- oil production, up; natural gas production, up. Oil imports, down -- under 50  
L3 percent. (Applause.) So we have focused on traditional sources of energy, but  
L4 we've also doubled fuel-efficiency standards on cars. (Applause.) We've also  
L5 doubled the production of clean energy. I want us to control our own energy future,  
L6 and we **can** put people back to work in the process. And that's why I'm running for  
L7 President of the United States of America, because I believe we **can** achieve that.  
(Applause.)

P21

L1 And I'm running for President because I want to do something about our debt and  
L2 our deficits in a balanced and responsible way. (Applause.) And that is as sharp a  
L3 contrast as we've got between my approach and what Republicans are peddling  
L4 right now. And I think this is worth focusing on. They think somehow they've got a  
L5 winner on this issue. Let's talk about the facts here.

P22

L1 Remember, when the last Democratic President was in office, we had a surplus.  
L2 (Applause.) By the time I got into office, we had a \$1 trillion deficit because of tax  
L3 cuts that weren't paid for, two wars that weren't paid for, a prescription drug plan  
L4 that was not paid for. We had baked into the cake structural deficits that were made  
L5 even worse by the financial crisis.

P23

L1 And so for these folks suddenly to get religion -- (laughter) -- and say, man,  
L2 deficits and government spending -- when they ran up the tab and are trying to  
L3 pass off the bill to me -- (laughter and applause) -- listen, let me tell you something.  
L4 (Applause.) Even after you factor in all the work that we did to prevent us from  
L5 slipping into a depression, the pace of growth of government spending is lower  
L6 under my administration than it has been in the last 50 years. (Applause.)

P24

L1 The two Presidents with the least growth in government spending in the modern  
L2 era happen to be two Democrats named Barack Obama and Bill Clinton.  
L3 (Applause.) It wasn't the other guys. And now you've got Mr. Romney proposing a  
L4 \$5 trillion tax cut. And he doesn't detail how it **would** be paid for, but if you go  
L5 through the possibilities, then one of two things: Either it's not paid for, in which  
L6 case, that's \$5 trillion that's piled on top of the debt we already have, passed onto  
L7 the next generation. Or it's going to come from middle-class families all across this  
L8 country. Those are the only two possibilities.

P25

L1 And I'm running for President because we're not going to let that happen.  
L2 (Applause.) We are not going to allow another millionaire's tax cut to result in cuts  
L3 in basic research and science, and cuts in Head Start programs, and less help to  
L4 states and cities who are putting folks back to work. We're not going to have poor  
L5 and disabled and seniors who rely on Medicaid having to bear the brunt for  
L6 another millionaire's tax cut. We're not going to voucherize Medicare. (Applause.)

P26

L1 We've got to do something about the debt and deficits, and the way to do it is by  
L2 making sure that, yes, we go after waste in government. Not every government  
L3 program works. Not every proposal or program or policy the government offers is  
L4 ideal. But what we do have to make sure of is that we do it in a balanced way. So  
L5 even as we're paring back on things that don't work -- and I've already signed \$2  
L6 trillion of cuts into law already and have proposed \$2 trillion in additional deficit  
L7 reduction -- even as we're making sensible cuts, even as we're reforming our health  
L8 care system to make sure that the dollars we pay actually make us healthier, what  
L9 we're not going to do is to make the most vulnerable people in our society, as well  
L10 as the middle class, shoulder the burden. We're going to ask those like myself  
L11 who are best equipped to help to do their fair share because that's part of the  
L12 American bargain. Everybody gets a fair shot. Everybody does their fair share.  
L13 Everybody plays by the same set of rules. (Applause.)

P27

L1 That's what we mean when we say we're going forward. We're not going to  
L2 re-litigate Wall Street reform. That was the right thing to do. We're not going to  
L3 re-litigate health care reform. It was the right thing to do; 2.5 million young people

L4 who **can** stay on their parents' plan and now have health insurance who didn't  
L5 otherwise have -- that was the right thing to do. (Applause.) Millions of seniors  
L6 getting discounts on their prescription drugs -- that was the right thing to do.  
L7 Health care prevention and women being able to control their own health care  
L8 decisions -- that was the right thing to do. We're not going backwards, we're going  
L9 forward. (Applause.)

P28

L1 In 2008, I said I'd end the war in Iraq. I ended it. (Applause.) In 2008, I said we'd  
L2 go after al Qaeda. And bin Laden is no longer a threat to this country and al Qaeda  
L3 is on its heels. (Applause.) We are transitioning in Afghanistan, and by 2014, we  
L4 have set a timeline that war will be over. And we are going to use the savings that  
L5 we get from ending these wars -- half of it **will** go to deficit reduction; the other  
L6 half, we'**ll** put to work rebuilding America, because this is the nation we need to  
L7 build. (Applause.) That's what I mean when I say we're moving forward. (Applause.)

P29

L1 We're not going to go back to the days when you **couldn't** serve in the military just  
L2 because of who you love. (Applause.) "Don't ask, don't tell" was bad for America's  
L3 security, and it was wrong, and we believe in the fairness and dignity and equality  
L4 of all people. We're moving forward. We're not going backwards. (Applause.)

P30

L1 We want to move forward and make sure that elections aren't just about \$10  
L2 million checks being written by folks who have vested interests in maintaining the  
L3 status quo. (Applause.) We want to move forward to make sure that we're creating  
L4 an immigration system that reflects our tradition as a nation of laws and a nation of  
L5 immigrants. (Applause.) Look, we are at our best when every voice is heard, when  
L6 everybody has a stake. And that's not just a Democratic tradition. That is an  
L7 American tradition. That's a tradition started by folks like Benjamin Franklin.  
L8 That's the essence of our creed.

P31

L1 If you look at our history, when we've made progress we've done it together. That's  
L2 how this country got built. That's how my grandfather's generation was educated  
L3 on a GI Bill. That's how we built the Hoover Dam. That's how we sent a man to  
L4 the moon. We believe in individual initiative and the free market. We believe in  
L5 entrepreneurs and risk takers being rewarded. We love folks getting rich --  
L6 (laughter) -- that's part of America's success.

P32

L1 But we also understand there are some things we do together as a nation.  
L2 (Applause.) That's the true lesson of our history. And that's the choice that we face  
L3 in this election.

P33

L1 Now, let me tell you, this election is going to be close -- because folks have gone  
L2 through a tough time. And no matter how many times you tell them, well, we  
L3 avoided a whole bunch of really bad stuff -- if you don't have a job, if your house  
L4 is still underwater, if you haven't seen your income go up in a decade, you're still

L5 frustrated. You're still concerned about your kid's future. And rightly so.

P34

L1 And the other side, they don't have any new ideas. I am telling you, I want you all  
L2 to pay attention over the next five months and see if they're offering a single thing  
L3 that they did not try when they were in charge, because you **won't** see it. It **will** be  
L4 the same stuff. The same okey-doke. (Laughter.) But you know what they do have  
L5 is they'll have \$500 million worth of negative ads. And they **will** tap into and feed  
L6 into cynicism and a sense of frustration. And they'**ll** try to direct blame. That's a  
L7 campaign they know how to run.

P35

L1 The thing is, though, what you guys taught me in 2008 was when Americans,  
L2 when citizens decide to come together, when they say, it's time for change; when  
L3 they start talking to their neighbors and their friends and they're really starting to  
L4 pay attention in terms of who's saying what, and asking themselves, how do we  
L5 move this country forward -- when you decide change needs to happen, guess  
L6 what? It happens. (Applause.)

P36

L1 And so, I have never been more convinced about the strength and the dignity of  
L2 the American people. I've never been more convinced about our prospects for the  
L3 future, and the reason is because of you.

P37

L1 As I travel all across this country, the American people constantly give me hope.  
L2 They constantly give me cause for optimism. I still believe in you. And I told you  
L3 back in 2008 that I **wouldn't** be -- I wasn't a perfect man. Michelle **would** tell you  
L4 that. (Laughter.) And I **wouldn't** -- I'**d** never be a perfect President, but I did say  
L5 I'**d** always tell you what I thought, and I'**d** always tell you where I stood. And I  
L6 promised you I **would** wake up every single day thinking about how I **can** work as  
L7 hard as I know how to make your lives a little bit better and to make the lives of  
L8 future generations a little bit better. And you know what? I've kept that promise. I  
L9 have kept that promise. (Applause.)

P38

L1 And so I hope you still believe in me. (Applause.) And if you're ready to go out  
L2 there and work, if you're ready to join me and make phone calls and knock on  
L3 doors, talk to your friends and talk to your neighbors, if you're willing to work  
L4 even hard than you did in 2008, we'**ll** finish what we started. (Applause.) We **will**  
L5 move this country forward, and we'**ll** remind the world just why it is the United  
L6 States of America is the greatest nation on Earth. (Applause.)  
L7 Thank you, everybody. God bless you. God bless America. (Applause.)

Text 2: Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Remarks at a Campaign Event  
Tampa, Florida  
June 22, 2012

P1

L1 Oh, it is good to be back in Tampa, Florida! (Applause.) I was so fired up I missed  
L2 a stair. (Laughter.) I **couldn't** wait to get out here. (Applause.) Well, how is  
L3 everybody doing today? (Applause.)

P2

L1 A couple of people I want to acknowledge -- first of all, the outstanding Mayor of  
L2 your fair city, Bob Buckhorn is in the house. (Applause.) Florida's own, the  
L3 chairwoman of the Democratic National Committee, Debbie Wasserman Shultz is  
L4 here. (Applause.) And the chair of the Florida Democratic Party, Rod Smith is in  
L5 the house. (Applause.)

P3

L1 And all of you are here. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Fired up, ready to go! Fired up, ready to go! Fired up, ready to go!

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

P4

L1 Listen, Tampa, I'm here not only because I need your help. But I'm also here  
L2 because the country needs your help. For the last three years, we've been battling  
L3 our way back from the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. Not only  
L4 are we digging out of a hole that's 9 million jobs deep, we're digging out of an  
L5 entire decade where manufacturing left our shores; where costs rose but incomes  
L6 weren't going up; where middle-class families fell further and further behind. It  
L7 was a decade where two wars and trillions of dollars in tax cuts were put on our  
L8 nation's credit card, turning a record surplus into a record deficit.

P5

L1 Now, today, our economy is growing again, but it needs to grow faster. Our  
L2 businesses have created over 4 million jobs in the last 27 months. (Applause.) But  
L3 we need to create more, and they need to pay better. I signed a law that **will** reduce  
L4 our deficit by \$2 trillion, but we've got to do more work on our deficit. One of the  
L6 most urgent tasks is recovering from this immediate crisis -- but the economy  
L7 **won't** be truly healthy until we reverse that much longer erosion of the middle  
L8 class -- (applause) -- until we restore the basic American bargain that says if you  
L9 work hard in this country, you **can** get ahead, and own a home, and send your kids  
L10 to college, and retire with dignity and respect. (Applause.)

P6

L1 Now, here's the thing, Florida. What's holding us back from meeting these  
L2 challenges is not the lack of big ideas, it's not the lack of technical solutions. By  
L3 now, just about every policy and proposal has been laid out there on the table.  
L4 What is holding us back is a stalemate between two fundamentally different views



L5 in Washington about which direction we **should** go in.

P7

L1 This isn't just one of the run-of-the-mill political arguments you hear about in  
L2 Washington sometimes. This is the defining issue of our time. We're in a  
L3 make-or-break moment for the middle class. And the next President and the next  
L4 Congress **will** face a set of decisions -- on the economy, and on the deficit, and on  
L5 taxes -- that **will** have an enormous impact on this country not just today but the  
L6 country that we pass on to our children.

P8

L1 And you know what, the outcome of this decision, this choice, is entirely up to you.  
L2 It's up to you -- the people of Tampa, the people of Florida, the American people.  
L3 (Applause.)  
L4 Now, Governor Romney and his allies --

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P9

L1 THE PRESIDENT: They're patriotic Americans. They've got wonderful families.  
L2 But they believe that we **should** go back to the top-down economics of the last  
L3 decade.

AUDIENCE: Nooo --

P10

L1 THE PRESIDENT: They figure that if we simply eliminate regulations and cut  
L2 taxes by trillions of dollars, then the market **will** solve all of our problems. (Baby  
L3 cries.) You see? You heard that? (Applause.) I'm just saying. (Laughter.)

P11

L1 No, wait, wait, that's their argument. They argue that if we help corporations and  
L2 wealthy investors maximize their profits by whatever means necessary -- whether  
L3 through layoffs or outsourcing or union-busting -- that it **will** automatically  
L4 translate into jobs and prosperity that benefit all of us. That's their theory. That's  
L5 their theory.

P12

L1 But I believe they're wrong. (Applause.) I think they're wrong. I believe we **should**  
L2 do everything we **can** to help our entrepreneurs succeed. (Applause.) I want our  
L3 companies to be as profitable as they **can** be. But that alone is not enough.  
L4 Because the central challenge we face right now -- the challenge that we've faced  
L5 for over a decade -- is that bigger profits haven't led to better jobs. Bigger profits  
L6 haven't led to higher incomes.

P13

L1 And the reason is, in this country, in America, prosperity has never come from the  
L2 top down -- it comes from a strong and growing middle class, and all those people  
L3 who are striving and working to get into the middle class. (Applause.) It comes  
L4 from successful, thriving small businesses that grow into medium-sized businesses,  
L5 and then large businesses.

P14

L1 We don't need more top-down economics. What we need is some middle class-out  
L2 economics, some bottom-up economics. (Applause.) We need a plan for better  
L3 education and for better training, for energy independence, for innovation, for  
L4 infrastructure that **can** rebuild America. (Applause.) What we need is a tax code  
L5 that encourages companies to create jobs and manufacturing here in the United  
L6 States -- (applause) -- and that asks the wealthiest Americans to help pay down our  
L7 deficit, to do their fair share. (Applause.)

P15

L1 Tampa, that's the way forward. That's where I want to take this country over these  
L2 next four years. And that's why I'm running for a second term as President of the  
L3 United States. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! (Applause.)

P16

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Now, listen, there's no mystery about where the other side **will**  
L2 take us if they win the election. I mean, their economic plan has been voted on in  
L3 Congress. Governor Romney has it right there on his website. So, look, first, they  
L4 promise to roll back all kinds of regulations on banks and polluters and insurance  
L5 companies and oil companies.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P17

L1 THE PRESIDENT: That's the first part of their plan. The second part of their plan  
L2 -- they don't just want to keep all the Bush tax cuts in place, the ones for the  
L3 wealthiest Americans, they want to keep those in place; then they want to add  
L4 another \$5 trillion in tax cuts on top of that --

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: -- including a 25 percent tax cut for every millionaire in the country.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P18

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Now, I **can** tell this is a sophisticated group, so -- (laughter) --  
L2 so you **might** be wondering, how do they spend \$5 trillion on new tax cuts and  
L3 then, with a straight face, say that their plan **would** reduce the deficit? How do  
L4 they do that? It's a good question. Well, let me tell you, they start by proposing \$1 L5  
trillion in cuts to things like education and training and medical research and clean  
energy.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P19

L1 THE PRESIDENT: But that's not enough. That's only \$1 trillion; they've got all  
L2 this -- \$4 trillion to go. So then they propose eliminating health care for about 50  
L3 million Americans --



AUDIENCE: Nooo --

P20

L1 THE PRESIDENT: And then they propose turning Medicare into a voucher  
L2 program. But you know what, that's still not enough. So, as it was reported in the  
L3 newspaper just this week, they'**ll** also have to raise taxes on the middle class by  
L4 taking away tax deductions for everything from health care to college, to  
L5 retirement, to homeownership --

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P21

L1 THE PRESIDENT: And that **could** cost some families thousands of dollars. So  
L2 think about that. To pay for another \$250,000 tax cut for the average millionaire,  
L3 they want you to foot the bill.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P22

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Let me see a show of hands: Is there anybody here who **can**  
L2 afford to pay thousands of dollars to give people like me and Mr. Romney another  
L3 tax cut?

AUDIENCE: No!

THE PRESIDENT: Come on, go ahead and raise your hand, don't be shy. (Laughter.)

P23

L1 Now, look, that's their entire economic plan. That's it. When Mr. Romney tells us  
L2 he's some sort of financial wizard who **can** fix our economy, that's how he intends  
L3 to do it.

P24

L1 And Bill Clinton has pointed out that this Republican agenda, it's nothing new. It's  
L2 nothing more than the same thing we tried during the last administration, except  
L3 on steroids. (Laughter and applause.)

P25

L1 Now, here's the thing. I have not seen a single nonpartisan expert say that the other  
L2 side's economic plan **would** actually reduce the deficit in the long term. I haven't  
L3 seen a single independent economist say it **would** create jobs in the short-term. In  
L4 fact, one said that it **would** push us even deeper into recession.

P25

L1 But, you know what, if people still think their plan sounds like a good idea --  
L2 (baby cries) -- see, somebody is depressed about this plan. They're hearing about it  
L3 -- (laughter.) I know, it's heartbreaking. (Laughter.)

P26

L1 But if somebody out there thinks that's a good idea, if they want to give the  
L2 policies of the last decade another try, then they **should** vote for Mr. Romney.  
L3 That's how our democracy works. They **should** reelect the Republicans who've

L4 been running for Congress. That's what our democracy is all about.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P27

L1 THE PRESIDENT: And together, Mr. Romney and a Republican Congress **will**  
L2 take America back down this path that we've tried, and it didn't work the last time.

P28

L1 But if you believe we need a better plan -- (applause) -- if you believe we need a  
L2 middle-class plan -- (applause) -- that grows our economy and shrinks our deficit  
L3 -- (applause) -- then we need to win this election. (Applause.) We need to move  
L3 this country forward. (Applause.)

P29

L1 Despite what you **'ll** hear from the other side, my plan isn't based on some belief  
L2 that government has the answer to all our problems. Over the last three years, I've  
L3 cut taxes for the typical working family by \$3,600. (Applause.) I've cut taxes for  
L4 small businesses 18 times. (Applause.) I want a government that is leaner and  
L5 smarter, one that's designed for the 21st century, more responsive to the American  
people.

P30

L1 So, look, I don't believe every regulation is smart, or that every tax dollar is spent  
L2 wisely. I don't believe that we **should** be in the business of helping people who  
L3 refuse to help themselves. But I do share the belief of our first Republican  
L4 President, a guy from my home state named Abraham Lincoln -- (applause) -- who  
L5 said that through government, we **should** do together what we **can't** do as well for  
ourselves. (Applause.)

P31

L1 That's how we built this country -- together. Sure, Democrats and Republicans  
L2 have always disagreed on certain policies and programs. But throughout our  
L3 history, at least our modern history, there's been a shared belief that we're a great  
L4 market economy, but the market **can't** solve all its problems on our own.

P32

L1 So that's why FDR worked with Republicans and Democrats to send a generation  
L2 of returning veterans to college on the GI Bill -- (applause) -- an investment that  
L3 led to the largest middle-class, the most prosperous economy in our history.  
L4 (Applause.) They understood that people succeed when they have a chance to get a  
L5 decent education and learn new skills -- and the businesses that hire those people  
L6 benefit, as well, and the companies they start benefit, as well. That was not just a  
L7 Democratic belief. That was an American belief. (Applause.)

P33

L1 President Eisenhower, a Republican, he launched the Interstate Highway System  
L2 and a new generation of scientific research. He understood that for companies to  
L3 grow and hire, they need access to the best transportation, and the fastest  
L4 communication, the most cutting-edge innovation.

P34

L1 Ronald Reagan worked with Democrats to save Social Security and pay down the L2 deficit by, yes, asking the wealthiest Americans to pay a little bit more in taxes.  
L3 (Applause.) They understood that our economy is stronger when we don't balance  
L4 our budget on the backs of middle-class and poor Americans. We do it best when  
L5 everybody does their fair share. (Applause.)

P35

L1 So Governor Romney and the Republican leaders in Congress, they've rejected  
L2 what used to be this bipartisan tradition. They've opted for top-down, on-your-own  
L3 economics that has never succeeded in this country. And I've got a different view. I  
L4 have an economic plan based on the shared vision that's always worked for  
L5 America's middle class and all those striving to get there -- (applause) -- a plan  
L6 focused on education and energy and innovation and infrastructure, and a tax code  
L7 that is fair and responsible. (Applause.) That's how we're going to build this  
L8 country. That's why I'm running for President of the United States. (Applause.)

P36

L1 So first, we're going to make sure that every American has a chance to get the  
L2 skills and training that today's jobs require. My plan **would** recruit an army of new  
L3 teachers -- (applause) -- pay them better, hire more teachers in areas like math and  
L4 science. (Applause.) I want to give 2 million more Americans the chance to go to  
L5 community colleges like this one, and learn skills that local businesses are looking  
L6 for right now. (Applause.) I want to make higher education affordable for every  
L7 American who's willing to work for it -- (applause) -- not just by offering more  
L8 loans and financial aid, but also by getting schools to hold down the cost of college  
tuition. (Applause.)

P37

L1 Second, under my plan, we're going to move towards a future where we control  
L2 our own energy. That's something that's good for our economy, good for our  
L3 environment, good for our national security. (Applause.) So we need to end  
L4 government subsidies to oil companies -- they're making a lot of money on their  
L5 own. Let's double -- (applause) -- on wind power and solar power, biofuels and  
L6 fuel-efficient cars. (Applause.) I want to put in place a new standard that makes  
L7 clean energy the profitable kind of energy for every business in America.

P38

L1 Number three -- we're going to make sure the United States of America is the best  
L2 place on Earth for innovation and science and discovery. (Applause.) So my plan  
L3 **would** give companies a permanent tax credit for research and development that  
L4 they do here in America. We **will** double down on public research that laid the  
L5 foundation for the Internet and GPS and Google, and all the companies and jobs  
L6 that followed. That's who we are. We are innovators. We create things. We don't  
L7 just buy things from other countries. (Applause.) We create things here in America,  
L8 and build them here in America.

P39

L1 And then we're going to take half the money we're no longer spending on war --  
L2 (applause) -- and we're going to use it to do some nation-building here at home.  
L3 (Applause.) If we want businesses to thrive here, we've got to put people back to  
L4 work rebuilding our roads and our runways, our wireless networks, our ports. And  
L5 what I'm pushing for is an independent fund that **will** attract private dollars and

L6 issue loans for new construction projects just based on two criteria: how badly are  
L7 they needed and how much good **will** they do for the economy. We don't need  
L8 bridges to nowhere. We need bridges to help businesses move goods and services  
L9 and people all across the country and all around the world. (Applause.)

P40

L1 And fifth, we're going to reduce our deficit by \$4 trillion. I have a detailed plan.  
L2 We **will** cut spending we **can't** afford. We **will** strengthen programs like Medicare for  
L3 the long haul. We **can** reform our tax code in a way that is fair and responsible –  
L4 which, by the way, means let's stop giving tax breaks to businesses that ship jobs  
L5 and factories overseas. (Applause.) Let's reward companies that create jobs in  
L6 manufacturing right here in the United States of America. (Applause.)

P41

L1 My plan **will** stop giving tax breaks to businesses that ship jobs and factories  
L2 overseas, and start rewarding companies that create jobs and manufacturing right  
L3 here in the United States of America. (Applause.)

P42

L1 Now, Mr. Romney disagrees with this. Today, it was reported in The Washington  
L2 Post that the companies his firm owned were "pioneers" in the outsourcing of  
L3 American jobs to places like China and India.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P43

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Pioneers. Let me tell you, Tampa, we do not need an  
L2 outsourcing pioneer in the Oval Office. (Applause.) We need a President who **will**  
L3 fight for American jobs and fight for American manufacturing. That's what my  
L4 plan **will** do. That's why I'm running for a second term as President of the United  
States. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

P44

L1 THE PRESIDENT: And, look, to get our deficit under control without sacrificing  
L2 all the investments I've talked about -- everything that we need to grow the  
L3 economy -- my plan, yes, **will** ask the wealthiest Americans to pay a little bit more  
L4 -- just like they did when Bill Clinton was President -- (applause) -- just like they  
L5 did when our economy created 23 million new jobs, and the biggest budget surplus  
L6 in history, and a whole lot of millionaires to boot. And there are -- look, there are  
L7 plenty of patriotic, very successful Americans who **d** be willing to make this  
L8 contribution again. (Applause.) Because they believe in this country.

P45

L1 So this is about choices. I don't believe that giving millionaires and billionaires a  
L2 \$250,000 tax cut is more valuable to our future than hiring transformative teachers,  
L3 or providing financial aid to kids who need it to go to college. (Applause.) I don't  
L4 believe that kind tax cut is more likely to create jobs than providing loans to new  
L5 entrepreneurs, or tax credits to small businesses who hire veterans. (Applause.) I  
L6 don't think it's more likely to spur economic growth than our investments in clean  
L7 energy and medical research, in building new roads and bridges and expanding our

L8 ports and our runways.

P46

L1 So Governor Romney disagrees with my vision. And his allies in Congress  
L2 disagree with my vision. Neither of them **will** endorse any policy that asks the  
L3 wealthiest Americans to pay even a nickel more in taxes. Not a penny more. It's  
L4 the reason -- that's the reason we haven't reached an agreement on how to reduce  
L5 our deficit. That's the reason my jobs bill that **would** put a million more people  
L6 back to work has been voted down by Republicans in Congress time and time  
L7 again. It is the biggest source of gridlock in Washington, and has been over the last  
three years.

P47

L1 So, Tampa, here's the thing. Only you **can** break that stalemate. (Applause.) In this  
L2 election, you have the final say about where we go. After a decade of war that's  
L3 cost us thousands of lives and over a trillion dollars, you **can** decide whether we  
L4 keep our brave men and women in Afghanistan indefinitely, like Mr. Romney  
L5 wants to do, or whether we stick to the timeline that **will** finally bring our troops  
L6 home. (Applause.) You **can** decide -- did something just fall down there? That's  
L7 why we need infrastructure, right there. (Applause.) You **can** decide whether we're  
L8 going to have another political fight about ending a woman's right to choose, and  
L9 getting rid of Planned Parenthood, and taking away access to birth control. Or you  
L10 **can** decide that women **should** control their own health care choices. (Applause.)

P48

L1 You **can** decide, you choose whether to re-fight the battles we just had over  
L2 financial reform and health care reform. Or you **can** decide that ending taxpayer  
L3 bailouts of Wall Street banks was the right thing to do, and that allowing 3 million  
L4 young people to stay on their parent's health insurance is the right thing to do, and  
L5 that preventing insurance companies from discriminating against people with  
L6 preexisting conditions is the right thing to do. (Applause.) You **can** decide.

P49

L1 You **can** decide whether we're going back to the days when you **could** be kicked  
L2 out of the United States military just because of who you are and who you love.  
L3 (Applause.) You **can** decide whether it's time to stop denying citizenship to  
L4 responsible young people just because they're the children of undocumented  
L5 immigrants. (Applause.) You **can** decide that this is -- becomes the last election  
L6 where multi-million dollar donations that are undisclosed somehow speak louder  
L8 than the voices of ordinary citizens. (Applause.)

P50

L1 So you know what, Tampa, this is up to you. This is up to you. From now until  
L2 November, the other side **will** spend more money than we have ever seen in the  
L3 history of the Republic. And all that money is going to be spent on ads telling you  
L4 that the economy is bad, it's all my fault, and I **can't** fix it because government is  
L5 always the answer, according to me. (Laughter.) Or because I didn't make a lot of  
L6 money in the private sector, or because I'm in over my head, or because I think  
L7 everybody is doing just fine. (Laughter.) They **will** have ad after ad after ad, and  
L8 all them **will** have scary voices. (Laughter.) They'll have pictures of me looking all  
L9 old and -- (laughter) -- broke down. You've seen those ads. You've seen them.  
L10 That's what Mr. Romney is going to say. That's what the Republicans in Congress

L11 **will** say. And that **may** be their plan to win an election, but it's sure not a plan to  
L12 create jobs. (Applause.) It's not a plan to grow the economy. It's not a plan to pay  
L13 down the debt. It's not a plan to restore the middle class and restore the American  
Dream. (Applause.)

P51

L1 You deserve better than that. (Applause.) At such a big moment in our history, at a  
L2 time when so many people are struggling, you deserve a real debate about the  
L3 economic plans we're proposing. And then, make a choice -- if there's anybody  
L4 who believes the best way to grow our economy and create jobs is eliminating  
L5 regulations and cutting \$5 trillion worth of taxes, they **should** vote for Governor  
L6 Romney and the Republicans who run Congress. God bless them.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: Because those folks -- because that's what they're proposing. They  
are more than qualified to take us in that direction.

P52

L1 But if you believe we need a plan for education and energy, and innovation and  
L2 infrastructure -- (applause) -- if you believe this economy grows best when  
L3 everybody has got a fair shot, and everybody does their fair share, and everybody  
L4 is playing by the same rules; if you believe that everybody **should** be able to  
L5 succeed, if they're working hard, no matter where they come from or what they  
L6 look like, what their last name is or who they love -- then I ask that you stand with  
L7 me for a second term as President of the United States. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years!

P53

L1 THE PRESIDENT: In fact, I ask everybody -- I want you guys -- vote for anybody  
L2 else -- Democrat, independent, or a Republican who shares this belief in how we  
L3 grow an economy that is good for everybody and not just some. I **will** work with  
L4 anybody of any party who believes that we're in this together -- (applause) -- who  
L5 believes that we rise or fall as one nation and one people. (Applause.)

P54

L1 Don't let anybody tell you we lack the capacity to meet our challenges. We're  
L2 Americans. The only thing lacking right now is our politics. And we **can** solve that.  
L3 That's what your vote is for.

P55

L1 So I need you to hit the doors. I need you to make some phone calls. (Applause.) I  
L2 need you to register your friends, get your family members going. Get on  
L3 Facebook, get on Twitter. (Applause.)

P56

L1 And if we're out there working together, we **can** finish what we started and remind  
L2 the world how a strong economy is built, and why the United States of America is  
L3 the greatest nation on Earth.

God bless you. God bless America. (Applause.)

Text 3: Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Remarks at a Campaign Event  
Cedar Rapids, Iowa  
July 10, 2012

P1

Hello, Cedar Rapids! (Applause.) Oh, it is good to be back. (Applause.) Love Cedar Rapids!

P2

All right, a couple of people I want to acknowledge. First of all, please give Jason and his wife Ali a big round of applause. (Applause.) They are just wonderful people. I'm so glad I had a chance to meet them. Now, they're debating what to name their son, so if you guys have some suggestions. (Laughter.) I asked them, what about Barack? (Laughter.) That was not yet on the list. (Laughter.) But they are wonderful people and they've got an incredibly cute guy named Cooper. And so I really thank them for their hospitality and we appreciate them so much. And Jason is starting as a high school principal, so wish him good luck. (Applause.) He's going to do a great job.

I want to acknowledge Mick Starverich --

AUDIENCE: Starcevich.

THE PRESIDENT: Starverich.

AUDIENCE: Starcevich.

THE PRESIDENT: Starcevich. (Applause.) I call him Mick. (Laughter.) And he is the President of Kirkwood and our host today. Thank you so much. (Applause.)

P3

I want to acknowledge our outstanding MC, Peggy Whitworth. (Applause.) Great friend. Great friend of mine. And one of my dearest friends here in Iowa, your outstanding Attorney General, Tom Miller, is in the house. (Applause.)

P4

Now, if you guys have a seat, feel free to take a seat. That way, if it gets a little warm, I don't want anybody getting overheated. You guys are kind of out of luck. (Laughter.) So make sure you're hydrated.

P5

And Abraham Lincoln is in the house! (Applause.) My homeboy from Illinois -- (laughter) -- and an outstanding Republican endorsee. (Laughter and applause.) There you go.

P6

L1 Now, unless you've managed to hide your television somewhere for the last year,  
L2 you **may** be aware that it is now campaign season. (Laughter.) And here in Iowa it  
L3 seems like it's always campaign season. You guys **can't** get away from it. And I  
L4 know that it is not always pretty to watch. There is more money flooding the



L5 system than ever before. There's more negative ads. There's more cynicism. Most  
L6 of what you hear in terms of the news is who's up or who's down in the polls,  
L7 instead of how any of this relates to your lives and the country that you love.

P7

L1 So I know that sometimes it **can** be tempting to lose interest and to lose heart and  
L2 to get a little cynical. And frankly, that's what a lot of people are betting that you  
L3 do. But I'm betting that you **won't**. I'm betting that you are going to be as fired up  
L4 as you were in 2008 -- (applause) -- because you understand the stakes for America.  
(Applause.)

P8

L1 Most of you are here because you know that even though sometimes our politics  
L2 seems real small and petty, the stakes in this election **could not** be bigger. What's  
L3 at stake is bigger than two candidates, it's bigger than two political parties. What's  
L4 at stake is two very different visions for our country.  
L5 And, Cedar Rapids, the choice that we make that **will** help determine our direction  
L6 for years to come -- that choice is going to be up to you.

AUDIENCE: Obama! (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: That's a good choice. (Applause.)

P9

L1 This **will** be my last political campaign, no matter what. I've got nothing else to  
L2 run for. (Laughter.) But it's got -- and because of that, you start feeling a little  
L3 nostalgic and you start thinking about some of your first campaigns. I think about  
L4 all the places I used to travel in Illinois and the first race I ran as a state senator.  
L5 And Michelle and I had to Xerox or go to Kinko's and copy our little flyers, and  
L6 we didn't have a TV budget back then. (Laughter.) And we rode around in my car  
L7 and I filled it up with my gas -- (laughter) -- and I'm the one who got lost if I took  
L8 a wrong turn. (Laughter.)

P10

L1 And what's amazing, though, when I think about it was how many people you'**d**  
L2 meet from every walk of life all across Illinois in big cities, small towns, upstate,  
L3 downstate, quads, you name it. And you'**d** always hear similar stories from people  
L4 about their parents or their grandparents and the struggles they had gone through,  
L5 and how they had been able to find a job that paid a living wage and look after  
L6 their families and their kids had done a little better than they did. And those stories  
L7 **would** resonate with me and Michelle because that was our story, that was our lives.

And then when I came to Iowa for the presidential campaign -- first stop, Cedar Rapids  
-- (applause) -- first stop.

AUDIENCE: We love you!

THE PRESIDENT: I love you back. (Applause.)

P11

L1 And the first stop was Cedar Rapids. And then we went on to Waterloo. That was



L2 the first time I had campaigned as President, and I was kind of nervous. We had  
L3 this huge town hall, and I don't remember what I said. (Laughter.) Most of the time  
L4 I was just worrying about screwing up. (Laughter.) But the same thing that I saw in  
L5 Illinois I was seeing in Iowa. This was a state that gave me a chance when nobody  
L6 else **would**. (Applause.)

P12

L1 And no matter what the national media was saying, no matter how far down we  
L2 were in the polls, we'**d** come here and Michelle and I we'**d** feel hopeful, because  
L3 we had that same conversation that we had had in my first race as a state senator or  
L4 my first race as U.S. senator -- going to state fairs and stopping in towns and  
L5 visiting VFW halls and diners -- and meeting people whose lives on the surface  
L6 **might** have looked different than mine, but when you heard their stories, they were a  
common story.

P12

L1 I thought about my grandparents whose service in World War II was rewarded --  
L2 when my grandfather came back from the war and my grandmother worked on a  
L3 bomber assembly line -- and they were able to go to college on the GI Bill, buy  
L4 their first house with an FHA loan. (Applause.)

P13

L1 I had a single mom who, with the help of my grandparents, was able to send my  
L2 sister and me to great schools, even though she didn't make a lot of money. She  
L3 was struggling to put herself through school and working at the same time. And  
L4 Michelle **would** think about her father, who had worked as a stationary engineer at  
L5 the water filtration plant -- blue-collar job all his life. And her mom, who was a  
L6 stay-at-home mom, and then worked as a secretary for most of her life.

P14

L1 And we thought about how far we had come, and the fact that our lives were a  
L2 testament to that fundamental American ideal that no matter who you are, no  
L3 matter what you look like, no matter where you come from, America is a place  
L4 where you **can** make it if you try. (Applause.) America is a place where you **can**  
L5 make it if you try. (Applause.)

P15

L1 And that same story -- my family story, Michelle's family story -- I heard it from  
L2 you guys. It was your story. And we understood. And we'**d** sit and talk and we'**d**  
L3 agree that America has never been a country of people looking for handouts. We're  
L4 a nation of workers and dreamers and doers. (Applause.) And we understand that  
L5 we've got to work for everything that we've got. And all we ask is for is that hard  
L6 work pays off, that responsibility is rewarded; so that if you put in enough effort, if  
L7 you're willing to put in some sweat and tears and overcome some difficulties in  
L8 your life, then you **can** find a job that pays the bills, and afford a home that you  
L9 **can** call your own, and count on health care when you get sick -- (applause) -- and  
L10 put away enough to retire on, maybe take a vacation once in a while.  
L11 I was telling folks in Ohio the other day, I remember my favorite vacation when I  
L12 was 11 years old, traveling the country with my grandmother and my mom and  
L13 my sister. And once in a while we'**d** rent a car, but a bunch of times we'**d** just  
L14 take Greyhound buses. And sometimes we'**d** take the train and stay at Howard  
L15 Johnsons. And as long as there was a little puddle of a pool, I'**d** be happy.

L16 (Laughter.) And you'd go to the ice machine and the vending machine and buy a  
L7 soda and get the ice, and you were really excited about it. (Laughter.)

P16

L1 And what was important was just the time that you had to spend with your family.  
L2 It wasn't anything fancy, but you understood that you **could** spend time with your  
L3 family. They were cared for. You had a sense of security. You **could** provide for  
L4 your children an education that **would** allow them to do even better than you did.  
L5 (Applause.) That was the basic bargain that built America's middle class, the  
L6 largest middle class on Earth. That's what built our prosperity, the greatest  
L7 economy the world has ever known. (Applause.)

P17

L1 And so those shared memories, those shared stories -- that was the basis of our  
L2 campaign when I ran for President. That's why I talked about the first time I came  
L3 to Cedar Rapids, because we came together as Democrats and independents and  
L4 Republicans because for too long that basic bargain, that vision of what it means to  
L5 make it in America, had been slipping away for too many folks. People were  
L6 working harder for less. It was getting more difficult to save, more difficult to  
L7 retire. The cost of health care and college was going through the roof.

P18

L1 And we understood that turning that around was not going to be easy. We knew it  
L2 **would** take more than one year or one term or maybe even one President. Now,  
L3 what we didn't know was that we were about to get hit with the worst economic  
L4 crisis in our lifetimes. And that crisis has put us through some really tough times –  
L5 here in Iowa and all across the country. It robbed millions of our fellow Americans  
L6 their jobs and their homes and their savings. And it made the American Dream  
L7 seem even further out of reach for too many hardworking people.

P19

L1 But the basic idea of why I ran in 2008, the reason you're here today, is because  
L2 that crisis did not change who we are. It did not change our character. It did not  
L3 change our values. We still know what makes us great. (Applause.) We still know  
L4 that what makes us great is the fact that if you work hard in this country, you **can**  
L5 still make it -- that vision we still believe in. (Applause.) The vision of a strong  
middle class is what we're fighting for. (Applause.)

P20

L1 Our mission right now is not just to recover from a recession. It's to reclaim the  
L2 basic security that so many Americans have lost. Our goal is to put people back to  
L3 work, but it's also to build an economy where that work pays off, an economy in  
L4 which everybody, whether they start a business or they're punching a clock, **can**  
L5 have confidence that if you work hard, you **can** get ahead. (Applause.)

P21

L1 That's what this campaign is about, Iowa. That's what I've been fighting for, for the  
L2 last three and a half years. And that's why I'm running for a second term as  
L3 President of the United States. (Applause.)

P22

L1 Now, you know what's holding us back from meeting this challenge is not a lack

L2 of ideas or a lack of solutions. What's holding us back from making even more  
L3 progress than we've made is a stalemate in Washington between two  
L4 fundamentally views about which path we **should** take as a country. And this  
L5 election is about breaking that stalemate. (Applause.)

P23

L1 This election **will** determine our economic future for the next generation. And,  
L2 frankly, the choice **could not** be clearer. My opponent, his allies in Congress, they  
L3 sincerely believe that prosperity comes from the top down.

AUDIENCE: No!

P24

L1 THE PRESIDENT: They believe that if we spend trillions of dollars more on tax  
L2 cuts -- mostly for the wealthy -- that it **will** somehow create more jobs, even if we  
L3 have to pay for it by gutting education, chopping assistance to community colleges  
L4 and Pell grants, cutting back on training --

AUDIENCE: No!

THE PRESIDENT: -- raising middle-class taxes.

AUDIENCE: No!

P25

L1 THE PRESIDENT: They believe that if we roll back regulations that we put in  
L2 place on banks and insurance companies and oil companies, all meant to protect  
L3 our people and our economy, that somehow everybody is going to be better off.

AUDIENCE: No!

THE PRESIDENT: And I think they're wrong. I think they're wrong. (Applause.)

P26

And listen, listen, it's not just my opinion. We tried it their way through most of the last  
decade, and it didn't work. (Applause.)

P27

L1 We fought two wars on a credit card; still paying for trillions of dollars in tax cuts  
L2 that didn't lead to more jobs or better wages for the middle class. And the lack of  
L3 rules on Wall Street is what allowed people to take shortcuts and game the system  
L4 in a way that caused this whole mess in the first place. So we tried what they're  
L5 selling, and it didn't work. And somehow they think you don't remember.  
L6 (Laughter.) But you remember, and we don't need more top-down economics.

P28

L1 What we need is somebody who's going to fight every single day to grow the  
L2 middle class -- (applause) -- because that's how our economy grows, from the  
L3 middle out, from the bottom up, where everybody has got a shot. That's how the  
L4 economy grows. (Applause.)

P29

L1 So I was over at Jason and Ali's -- and wonderful, wonderful story, really nice  
L2 family. Jason is the new principal over at Central City High. Ali is an account  
L3 manager at a document scanning company. They've got a very cute four-year-old,  
L4 Cooper, and then the yet-to-be-named other cute one. (Laughter.) They met at a  
L5 convenience store where they worked while they were in school. Apparently, Ali  
L6 was Jason's boss. (Laughter.) And she is still his boss. (Laughter and applause.)  
L7 That does not change. That's how it works. (Laughter.)

P30

L1 So we were talking about something that nobody looks forward to, and that's  
L2 paying taxes. Everybody understands it's something you have to do; you don't love  
L3 doing it. But we were talking about how over the last four years, because of  
L4 policies my administration put in place, we've been able to offer the McLaughlins  
L5 about \$4,900 in tax relief. (Applause.)

P31

L1 And they've said that's made a real difference in their lives. It's helped them pay  
L2 their bills; helped them get day care for Cooper. We were sitting and I was telling  
L3 them the house they're in now is roughly the same size as the house that Michelle  
L4 and I lived in for the first 13 years that we were married. We had a little co-op.  
L5 And when they were talking about the bills, I remembered going through them.  
L6 You got the mortgage. You got the student loans. You got the electricity bill, car  
L7 note, gas bill, day care. Everything they were talking about was familiar because L8  
Michelle and I went through it. And that \$4,900 helped. It made a difference.

P31

L1 Now we've got a choice to make, because on January 1st, taxes are scheduled to  
L2 go up on everybody in America. That's what the law says right now -- if we don't  
L3 do anything, if Congress doesn't do anything, taxes **will** go up on everybody at the  
L4 end of this year.

P32

L1 Yesterday I called on Congress to stop any tax hikes for the 98 percent of  
L2 Americans who are just like the McLaughlins -- just like you. (Applause.) Because  
L3 if Congress doesn't act, then that tax hike **could** cost up to \$2,200 for a family of  
L4 four. That **wouldn't** just be a big financial hit for Jason and Ali, because as they  
L5 pointed out -- and this is what I love about America and what I love about them --  
L6 they said, as tight as things may be for us, we're a lot better off than a lot of folks  
L7 we know. So imagine if it's tough for them what it's going to be for somebody else.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Like my mom.

THE PRESIDENT: Like your mom. (Laughter.)

AUDIENCE MEMBER: That's right.

P33

L1 THE PRESIDENT: It **would** be not only a huge blow to those families, it **would**  
L2 be a big blow to our entire economy at a time when we need all the help we **can**  
L3 get. Now, I believe that we **should** make sure that taxes on the 98 percent of  
L4 Americans don't go up, and then we **should** let the tax cuts expire for folks like me,  
L5 for the top 2 percent of Americans. (Applause.)

P34

L1 So anybody making over \$250,000 a year, including me, we'd go back to the tax  
L2 rates that we were paying under Bill Clinton, which, by the way, was a time when  
L3 our economy created nearly 23 million new jobs, the biggest budget surplus in  
L4 history and created plenty of millionaires to boot. (Applause.)

P35

L1 And by the way, the reason I say that is not because I just love to pay taxes.  
L2 (Laughter.) It's because I know I **can** afford it, and to give me another tax break or  
L3 to give Warren Buffett another tax break, or to give Mitt Romney another tax break -  
-

AUDIENCE: No!

P36

L1 THE PRESIDENT: -- that **would** cost about a trillion dollars, and we **can't** afford  
L2 it -- not at a time where we're trying to bring down our deficit. Not at a time when  
L3 we're trying to reduce our debt. So this has nothing to do with me wanting to  
L4 punish success. We love folks getting rich. I hope Malia and Sascha go out there  
L5 and if that's what they want to do, that's great. But I do want to make sure that  
L6 everybody else gets that chance as well. And for us to give a trillion dollars' worth  
L7 of tax breaks to folks who don't need it -- (applause) -- to folks who don't need it  
L8 and aren't even asking for it, that doesn't make sense.

P37

L1 Now, the Republicans in Congress and Mr. Romney disagree with me. And that's  
L2 what democracy is all about. They want more tax cuts for the wealthiest  
L3 Americans -- on top of the existing Bush tax cuts, they want to give \$5 trillion  
L4 more in tax cuts. And that fight is a big part of what this election is about. We're  
L5 going to have that debate -- here in Iowa and all across the country.

P38

L1 But in the meantime, doesn't it make sense for us to agree to keep taxes low for 98  
L2 percent of Americans who are working hard and **can't** afford a tax hike right now?  
L3 (Applause.) I mean, think about it. I want to hold taxes steady for 98 percent of  
L4 Americans; Republicans say they want to do the same thing. We disagree on the  
L5 other 2 percent. Well, what do you usually do if you agree on 98 percent and you  
disagree on 2 percent?

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Compromise!

P39

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Why don't you compromise to help the middle class? Go  
L2 ahead and do the 98 percent, and we **can** keep arguing about the 2 percent. Let's  
L3 agree when we **can** agree. (Applause.)

P40

L1 Let's not hold the vast majority of Americans hostage while we debate the merits  
L2 of another tax cut for the other 2 percent. In other words, let's stand up for families  
L3 like yours that are working hard every day, give you some certainty so you **can**  
L4 start planning, so you have an idea of what's coming next year.

P41

L1 And that's what this election is about. Ultimately, Cedar Rapids, that's why I'm  
L2 running for a second term as President -- because I believe we **can** make progress  
L3 right now that helps you and your families. That's what I'm going to be fighting for.  
(Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!  
Four more years!

P42

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Now, this tax issue is part of a broader debate we're going to  
L2 have about how we rebuild an economy that grows the middle class and gives  
L3 opportunity to everybody who is trying to get into the middle class. When the  
L4 American auto industry was on the brink of collapse and more than one million  
L5 jobs were on the line, Governor Romney said we **should** "let Detroit go bankrupt."

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P43

L1 THE PRESIDENT: I refused to turn my back on a great American industry and  
L2 great American workers. (Applause.) I bet on American workers. I bet on  
L3 American manufacturing. And three years later, the American auto industry has  
L4 come roaring back. (Applause.) That's what this election is about. (Applause.)

P44

L1 Because what's happening in the auto industry **can** happen in other industries, and  
L2 I'm running to make sure it does. I want hi-tech manufacturing to take root in  
L3 places like Cedar Rapids and Newton and Des Moines. (Applause.) I want goods  
L4 stamped with "Made In America" selling all around the world. (Applause.) I want  
L5 to stop giving tax breaks to companies that ship jobs and factories overseas, and  
L6 start rewarding companies that create jobs right here in the United States of America.  
(Applause.)

P45

L1 Governor Romney has experience owning companies that were called "pioneers"  
L2 in the business of outsourcing. My experience has been working with outstanding  
L3 members of labor and great managers to save the American auto industry.  
L4 (Applause.) And as long as I'm President, I **will** keep fighting to make sure jobs  
L5 are located here in the United States of America. (Applause.)

P46

L1 But we can't stop there. I'm running to make sure that America once again leads  
L2 the world in educating our kids and training our workers. (Applause.) Our tuition  
L3 tax credit has saved millions of families thousands of dollars. I want to extend it.  
L4 We just won the fight that we were having with Congress to stop the federal  
L5 student loan rate from doubling for more than 7 million students. (Applause.) We  
L6 got that done. Now, I want to work with presidents and officials at universities and  
L7 community colleges to bring the cost of tuition down once and for all.

P47

L1 I want to help our schools hire and reward the best teachers, especially in math and  
L2 science. (Applause.) I want to give 2 million more Americans the chance to attend



L3 great community colleges like Kirkwood, help them learn the skills that local  
L4 businesses are hiring for right now. Because higher education is not a luxury in the  
L5 21st century, it is a necessity, and I want everybody to be able to afford it.  
L6 (Applause.) That's what this election is about. (Applause.)

P48

L1 My administration has already helped more than a million responsible  
L2 homeowners refinance their mortgages. Well, I'm running to give more folks like  
L3 them a chance to refinance and save \$3,000 a year. My opponent's plan is to let the  
L4 housing market "hit bottom." That's not a solution; that's part of the problem.  
L5 That's a choice in this election.

P49

L1 I'm running because I believe that nobody in America **should** go broke just  
L2 because they get sick. (Applause.) Our health care law was the right thing to do.  
L3 (Applause.) It was the right thing to do. And you know what, I **will** work with  
L4 anybody to improve the health care law where we **can**. But this law is here to stay.  
(Applause.)

P50

L1 And it **will** help the vast majority of Americans feel greater security. (Applause.) If  
L2 you've got health insurance, it's going to be more secure because insurance  
L3 companies **can't** jerk you around because of fine print. If you don't have health  
L4 insurance, we **ll** help you get it. They're not going to be able to discriminate  
L5 against you in buying health insurance because you're sick. And we're not going to  
L6 tell the six million young people who have already been helped because they're  
L7 now on their parent's insurance plan that suddenly they're on their own. And we're  
L8 not going to turn Medicare into a voucher system. (Applause.)

P51

L1 We're not going to refight political battles from two years ago or three years ago.  
L2 We're going to move forward, and help every American make sure they feel some  
L3 security when it comes to health care. (Applause.)

P52

L1 I'm running because after a decade of war, we stopped and ended the war in Iraq,  
L2 we're transitioning out of Afghanistan, and now it's time to do some nat  
L3 ion-building here at home. (Applause.) So I want to take about half the money  
L4 we're no longer spending on a war and let's use it to put people back to work –  
L5 (applause) -- rebuilding our roads, rebuilding our runways, our ports, our wireless  
networks. \

P53

L1 I know we've got some trades here in the house. These guys, they're ready to work.  
L2 They're ready to put a hardhat on. They're read to rebuild America. That's what we  
L3 need to be doing all across Iowa, all across this country. We **can't** go back. We've  
L4 got to move forward. (Applause.)

P54

L1 And I am running to make sure that we **can** afford to pay down our debt and our  
L2 deficits in a way that is responsible. After a decade of irresponsible decisions, we  
L3 need to reduce it, but in a balanced, responsible way. I **will** cut spending that we

L4 **can't** afford --

AUDIENCE Be sure you help our vets!

P55

L1 THE PRESIDENT: And we're going to help our vets -- we're doing it. We've  
L2 actually increased veterans funding since I've been President higher than any time  
L3 in 30 years. (Applause.) But in order to bring down our debt and our deficits in a  
L4 responsible way, it means cutting out things we **can't** afford. Not every  
L5 government program works -- we **can** streamline government. I've asked for  
L6 authority from Congress to make sure that government is suited for the 21st  
L7 century, not the 19th century. (Applause.) But what we've also got to do is ask the  
L8 wealthiest Americans who enjoyed the biggest unlike tax cuts over the past decade  
L9 to just pay a little bit more. And here's the thing. There are plenty of patriotic,  
L10 successful Americans who want to make this contribution. They're willing to do it  
L11 because they remember how they got successful.

P56

L1 All of these things -- whether it's bringing manufacturing, or getting construction  
L2 workers back on the job, or protecting your health care, or saving the auto industry,  
L3 or making sure our kids get the best education, making sure our veterans get the  
L4 care they deserve after fighting on behalf of our freedom -- all these things that  
L5 make up a middle-class life, they're all tied together. They're all central to the idea  
L6 that made this big, diverse, hopeful, optimistic, hardworking country great -- the  
L7 idea that if you work hard, you **can** have the security to make of your life what  
L8 you **will**. The idea that we are all in this together.

P57

L1 We are individuals, and we have to take responsibility and nobody is going to offer  
L2 you anything, but ultimately there are some things we do together. That's the  
L3 promise of our parents and our grandparents. They passed it down to us. It's the  
L4 promise we have to pass down to our kids and our grandkids -- that we don't just  
L5 look out for ourselves. We look after other people, too, in our communities, in our  
L6 states, in our nation, and next generation of Americans. (Applause.)

P58

L1 So over the next four months, you **will** see the other side spending more money than  
L2 we've ever seen before. And even though there **will** probably be a bunch of  
L3 different ads, they **will** all have the same message. They **will** all say: The economy is  
L4 not where it needs to be and it's Obama's fault. That's basically their idea. They  
L5 know their economic theory isn't going to sell, so all they **can** say is,  
L6 unemployment is still too high; folks are still struggling and it's Obama's fault.  
L7 That's their message. That's it. They don't have another one. (Laughter.) I  
L8 guarantee you, you watch every ad, that's going to be the message.

P59

L1 Now, that **may** be a plan to win an election, but it's not a plan to create jobs. It sure  
L2 as heck is not a plan to grow our economy. (Applause.) It's not a plan to revive our  
L3 middle class. They don't have that plan. I've got that plan, Iowa. (Applause.) So let  
L4 me tell you, we have been outspent before, we've been counted out before. But  
L5 through every one of my campaigns, what's always given me hope is you -- your  
L6 ability to cut through the nonsense; your ability to identify what's true, to tap into



L7 those values that we all believe in.

P60

L1 I know that you guys remember the story of your family just like I remember mine  
L2 -- and all the struggles of our parents and our grandparents and great-grandparents  
L3 -- everything they went through — some of them coming here as immigrants,  
L4 maybe working in a mine, working on a mill, farming the land. They didn't know  
L5 what to expect, but they understood there was something special about this country.  
L6 They knew that this was a country where people are free to pursue their own  
L7 dreams, but that we still come together as one American family. And they knew  
L8 that being middle class wasn't just about having a certain amount of money in your  
L9 bank account. It was about the values you cared about, and the responsibilities that  
L10 you took, and the communities that you believed in, and how you were able to  
L11 have some security to take care of your family and give your children a better  
L12 chance than you did.

P61

L1 And when we come together and we tap into those values, when we remember  
L2 what we're made of and who we are and how we got here, and that we didn't get  
L3 here alone because somebody out there was helping us along the way, then all that  
L4 money spent on TV advertising doesn't matter. All those negative ads don't happen.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We're not buying it!

P61

L1 THE PRESIDENT: That's what I remember. That's what I know about -- how you  
L2 guys not only inspired me but you inspired each other. And you **can** still do that.  
L3 You still inspire me. When I told you in 2008 that I was running for President, I  
L4 told you, look, I'm not a perfect man -- Michelle tells me that. (Laughter.) And I  
L5 **wouldn't** be a perfect President. But I promised that I **would** tell you what I  
L6 thought, I'd tell you where I stood, and I promised I **would** work every single day  
L7 -- I **would** fight as hard as I knew how for you. (Applause.) Because I saw myself L8  
in you. I saw my kids in your kids, and my grandparents in your grandparents.  
(Applause.)

P62

L1 And I've kept that promise, Iowa. (Applause.) I have kept that promise. And I still  
L2 believe in you. And if you still believe in me, and you're willing to stand with me,  
L3 and work with me, and knock on doors with me, and make phone calls with me, I  
L4 promise you we **will not** just win this election, we **will** finish what we started, and  
L5 we **will** remind the world why America is the greatest nation on Earth. (Applause.)

God bless you. God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

Text 4: Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Address to the VFW National Convention  
Reno, Nevada  
July 23, 2012

P1

L1 Thank you so much. Please, please, everybody have a seat.

P2

L1 Commander DeNoyer, thank you for your introduction, and your service in  
L2 Vietnam and on behalf of America's veterans. I want to thank your executive  
L3 director, Bob Wallace; your next commander, who I look forward to working with,  
L4 John Hamilton. And to Gwen Rankin, Leanne Lemley, and the entire Ladies  
L5 Auxiliary, thank you for your patriotic service to America. (Applause.)

P3

L1 I stand before you as our hearts still ache over the tragedy in Aurora, Colorado.  
L2 Yesterday I was in Aurora, with families whose loss is hard to imagine -- with the  
L3 wounded, who are fighting to recover; with a community and a military base in the  
L4 midst of their grief. And they told me of the loved ones they lost. And here today,  
L5 it's fitting to recall those who wore our nation's uniform:

P4

L1 Staff Sergeant Jesse Childress -- an Air Force reservist, 29 years old, a cyber  
L2 specialist who loved sports, the kind of guy, said a friend, who'd help anybody.

P5

L1 Petty Officer Third Class John Larimer -- 27 years old, who, like his father and  
L2 grandfather before him, joined the Navy, and who is remembered as an  
L3 outstanding shipmate. Rebecca Wingo -- 32 years old, a veteran of the Air Force,  
L4 fluent in Chinese, who served as a translator; a mother, whose life **will** be an  
L5 inspiration to her two little girls.

P6

L1 And Jonathan Blunk -- from Reno, just 26 years old, but a veteran of three Navy  
L2 tours, whose family and friends **will** always know that in that theater he gave his  
L3 own life to save another.

P7

L1 These young patriots were willing to serve in faraway lands, yet they were taken  
L2 from us here at home. And yesterday I conveyed to their families a message on  
L3 behalf of all Americans: We honor your loved ones. We salute their service. And as  
L4 you summon the strength to carry on and keep bright their legacy, we stand with  
L5 you as one united American family. (Applause.)

P8

L1 Veterans of Foreign Wars, in you I see the same shining values, the virtues that  
L2 make America great. When our harbor was bombed and fascism was on the march,  
L3 when the fighting raged in Korea and Vietnam, when our country was attacked on

L4 that clear September morning, when our forces were sent to Iraq -- you answered  
L5 your country's call. Because you know what Americans **must** always remember –  
L6 our nation only endures because there are patriots who protect it.

P9

L1 In the crucible of battle, you were tested in ways the rest of us **will** never know.  
L2 You carry in your hearts the memory of the comrades you lost. For you understand  
L3 that we **must** honor our fallen heroes not just on Memorial Day, but all days. And  
L4 when an American goes missing, or is taken prisoner, we **must** do everything in  
L5 our power to bring them home. (Applause.)

P10

L1 Even after you took off the uniform, you never stopped serving. You took care of  
L2 each other -- fighting for the benefits and care you had earned. And you've taken  
L3 care of the generations that followed, including our newest veterans from Iraq and  
L4 Afghanistan. On behalf of all our men and women in uniform, and on behalf of the  
L5 American people, I want to thank you, VFW. Thank you for your outstanding work.  
(Applause.)

P11

L1 Of course, some among you -- our Vietnam veterans -- didn't always receive that  
L2 thanks, at least not on time. This past Memorial Day, I joined some of you at The  
L3 Wall to begin the 50th anniversary of the Vietnam War. And it was another chance  
L4 to say what **should** have been said all along: You did your duty, and you made us  
L5 proud. And as this 50th anniversary continues, I'd ask all our Vietnam vets to  
L6 stand, or raise your hand, as we say: Thank you and welcome home. (Applause.)

P12

L1 Every generation among you served to keep us strong and free. And it falls to us,  
L2 those that follow, to preserve what you won. Four years ago, I stood before you at  
L3 a time of great challenge for our nation. We were engaged in two wars. Al Qaeda  
L4 was entrenched in their safe havens in Pakistan. Many of our alliances were frayed.  
L5 Our standing in the world had suffered. We were in the worst recession of our  
L6 lifetimes. Around the world, some questioned whether the United States still had  
L7 the capacity to lead.

P13

L1 So, four years ago, I made you a promise. I pledged to take the fight to our  
L2 enemies, and renew our leadership in the world. As President, that's what I've done.  
L3 (Applause.) And as you reflect on recent years, as we look ahead to the challenges  
L4 we face as a nation and the leadership that's required, you don't just have my  
L5 words, you have my deeds. You have my track record. You have the promises I've  
L6 made and the promises that I've kept.

P14

L1 I pledged to end the war in Iraq honorably, and that's what we've done. (Applause.)  
L2 After I took office, we removed nearly 150,000 U.S. troops from Iraq. And some  
L3 said that bringing our troops home last year was a mistake. They **would** have kept  
L4 tens of thousands of our forces in Iraq -- indefinitely, without a clear mission. Well,  
L5 when you're Commander-in-Chief, you owe the troops a plan, you owe the country  
L6 a plan -- and that includes recognizing not just when to begin wars, but also how to  
end them.

P15

L1 So we brought our troops home responsibly. They left with their heads held high,  
L2 knowing they gave Iraqis a chance to forge their own future. And today, there are  
L3 no Americans fighting in Iraq, and we are proud of all the Americans who served  
there. (Applause.)

P16

L1 I pledged to make it a priority to take out the terrorists who had attacked us on  
L2 9/11. And as a candidate, I said that if we had Osama bin Laden in our sights, we  
L3 **would** act to keep America safe -- even if it meant going into Pakistan. Some of  
L4 you remember, at the time, that comment drew quite a bit of criticism. But since I  
L5 took office, we've worked with our allies and our partners to take out more top al  
L6 Qaeda leaders than any time since 9/11. And thanks to the courage and the skill of  
L7 our forces, Osama bin Laden **will** never threaten America again, and al Qaeda is  
L8 on the road to defeat. (Applause.)

P17

L1 I pledged to finish the job in Afghanistan. After years of drift, we had to break the L2  
momentum of the Taliban, and build up the capacity and the capability of Afghans. L3  
And so, working with our commanders, we came up with a new strategy, and we  
L4 ordered additional forces to get the job done. This is still a tough fight. But thanks  
L5 to the incredible services and sacrifices of our troops, we pushed the Taliban back;  
L6 we're training Afghan forces; we've begun the transition to Afghan lead.

P18

L1 Again, there are those who argued against a timeline for ending this war -- or  
L2 against talking about it publicly. But you know what, that's not a plan for  
L3 America's security either. After 10 years of war, and given the progress we've  
L4 made, I felt it was important that the American people -- and our men and women  
L5 in uniform -- know our plan to end this war responsibly. (Applause.) And so by the  
L6 end of this summer, more than 30,000 of our troops **will** have come home. Next  
L7 year, Afghans **will** take the lead for their own security. In 2014, the transition **will**  
L8 be complete. And even as our troops come home, we **will** have a strong partnership  
L9 with the Afghan people, and we **will** stay vigilant so Afghanistan is never again a  
L10 source for attacks against America. (Applause.)

P19

L1 We're not just ending these wars; we're doing it in a way that achieves our  
L2 objectives. Moreover, it's allowed us to broaden our vision and begin a new era of  
L3 American leadership. We're leading from Europe to the Asia Pacific, with alliances  
L4 that have never been stronger. We're leading the fight against nuclear dangers.  
L5 We've applied the strongest sanctions ever on Iran and North Korea -- nations that  
L6 **cannot** be allowed to threaten the world with nuclear weapons. (Applause.) We're  
L7 leading on behalf of freedom -- standing with people in the Middle East and North  
L8 Africa as they demand their rights; protecting the Libyan people as they rid the  
L9 world of Muammar Qaddafi.

P20

L1 Today, we're also working for a transition so the Syrian people **can** have a better  
L2 future, free of the Assad regime. And given the regime's stockpiles of chemical  
L3 weapons, we **will** continue to make it clear to Assad and those around him that the  
L4 world is watching, and that they **will** be held accountable by the international

L5 community and the United States, **should** they make the tragic mistake of using  
L6 those weapons. (Applause.) And we **will** continue to work with our friends and our  
L7 allies and the Syrian opposition on behalf of the day when the Syrian people have  
L8 a government that respects their basic rights to live in peace and freedom and  
dignity.

P21

L1 Because we're leading around the world, people have a new attitude toward  
L2 America. There's more confidence in our leadership. We see it everywhere we go.  
L3 We saw it as grateful Libyans waved American flags. We see it across the globe –  
L4 when people are asked, which country do you admire the most, one nation comes  
L5 out on top -- the United States of America. (Applause.)

P22

L1 So this is the progress that we've made. Thanks to the extraordinary service of our  
L2 men and women in uniform, we're winding down a decade of war; we're  
L3 destroying the terrorist network that attacked us; we're strengthening the alliances  
L4 that extend our values. And today, every American **can** be proud that the United  
L5 States is safer and stronger and more respected in the world.

P23

L1 And all this allows us to fulfill another promise that I made to you four years ago  
L2 -- strengthening our military. After 10 years of operations, our soldiers **will** now  
L3 have fewer and shorter deployments, which means more time on the home front to  
L4 keep their families strong; more time to heal from the wounds of war; more time to  
L5 improve readiness and prepare for future threats.

P24

L1 As President, I've continued to make historic investments to keep our armed forces  
L2 strong. And guided by our new defense strategy, we **will** maintain our military  
L3 superiority. It **will** be second to none as long as I am President and well into the  
L4 future. We've got the best-trained, best-led, best-equipped military in history. And  
L5 as Commander-in-Chief I am going to keep it that way. (Applause.)

P25

L1 And by the way, given all the rhetoric lately -- it is political season -- let's also set  
L2 the record straight on the budget. Those big, across-the-board cuts, including  
L3 defense, that Congress said **would** occur next year if they **couldn't** reach a deal to  
L4 reduce the deficit? Let's understand, first of all, there's no reason that **should**  
L5 happen, because people in Congress ought to be able to come together and agree  
L6 on a plan, a balanced approach that reduces the deficit and keeps our military  
L7 strong. It **should** be done. (Applause.)

P26

L1 And there are a number of Republicans in Congress who don't want you to know  
L2 that most of them voted for these cuts. Now they're trying to wriggle out of what  
L3 they agreed to. Instead of making tough choices to reduce the deficit, they'd rather  
L4 protect tax cuts for some of the wealthiest Americans, even if it risks big cuts in  
L5 our military. And I've got to tell you, VFW, I disagree. If the choice is between tax  
L6 cuts that the wealthiest Americans don't need and funding our troops that they  
L6 definitely need to keep our country strong, I **will** stand with our troops every single  
time. (Applause.)

P27

L1 So let's stop playing politics with our military. Let's get serious and reduce our  
L2 deficit and keep our military strong. Let's take some of the money that we're  
L3 saving because we're not fighting in Iraq and because we're winding down in  
L4 Afghanistan -- use half that money to pay down our deficit; let's use half of it to do  
L5 some nation-building here in the United States of America. (Applause.)

P28

L1 Let's keep taking care of our extraordinary military families. For the first time ever,  
L2 we've made military families and veterans a top priority not just at DOD, not just  
L3 at the VA, but across the government. As Richard mentioned, this has been a  
L4 mission for my wife, Michelle, and Vice President Joe Biden's wife, Dr. Jill Biden.  
L5 Today, more people across America in every segment of society are Joining Forces  
L6 to give our military families the respect and the support that they deserve.  
(Applause.)

P29

L1 And there's another way we **can** honor those who serve. It **may** no longer be a  
L2 crime for con artists to pass themselves off as heroes, but one thing is certain -- it  
L3 is contemptible. So this week, we **will** launch a new website, a living memorial, so  
L4 the American people **can** see who's been awarded our nation's highest honors.  
L5 Because no American hero **should** ever have their valor stolen. (Applause.)

P30

L1 This leads me to another promise I made four years ago -- upholding America's  
L2 sacred trust with our veterans. I promised to strengthen the VA, and that promise  
L3 has been kept. In my first year, we achieved the largest percentage increase in the  
L4 VA budget in 30 years. And we're going to keep making historic investments in our  
L5 veterans. When Richard came to the Oval Office, we talked about what those  
L6 automatic budget cuts -- sequestration -- **could** mean for the VA. So my  
L7 administration has made it clear: Your veteran's benefits are exempt from  
L8 sequestration. They are exempt. (Applause.) And because advance appropriations  
L9 is now the law of the land, veterans' health care is protected from the budget  
L10 battles in Washington. (Applause.)

P31

L1 I promised you that I **d** stand up for veterans' health care. As long as I'm President,  
L2 I **will not** allow VA health care to be turned into a voucher system, subject to the  
L3 whims of the insurance market. Some have argued for this plan. I **could not**  
L4 disagree more. You don't need vouchers, you need the VA health care that you have  
earned and that you depend on. (Applause.)

P32

L1 So we've made dramatic investments to help care for our veterans. For our  
L2 Vietnam veterans, we declared that more illnesses are now presumed connected to  
L3 your exposure to Agent Orange. As a result of our decision, Vietnam-era vets and  
L4 your families received nearly \$4 billion in disability pay. You needed it; you  
L5 fought for it. We heard you and we got it done. (Applause.)

P33

L1 We've added mobile clinics for our rural veterans; more tailored care for our  
L2 women veterans; unprecedented support for veterans with Traumatic Brain Injury.



L3 All tolled, we've made VA health care available to nearly 800,000 veterans who  
L4 didn't have it before. (Applause.) And we're now supporting caregivers and  
L5 families with the skills and the stipends to help care for the veterans that they love.

P35

L1 Of course, more veterans in the system means more claims. So we've hired  
L2 thousands of claims processors. We're investing in paperless systems. To their  
L3 credit, the dedicated folks at the VA are now completing one million claims a year.  
L4 But there's been a tidal wave of new claims. And when I hear about veterans  
L5 waiting months, or years, for your benefits -- it is unacceptable. And we are doing  
L6 something about it. (Applause.)

P36

L1 We're taking all those folks who processed your Agent Orange claims -- more than  
L2 1,200 experts -- and giving them a new mission: Attack the backlog. We're  
L3 prioritizing veterans with the most serious disabilities. And the VA and DOD **will**  
L4 work harder towards a seamless transition so new veterans aren't just piled on to  
L5 the backlog. And we **will not** rest -- I **will not** be satisfied until we get this right.  
L6 And today, I'm also calling on all those who help our vets complete their claims --  
L7 state VAs, physicians and veteran groups like the VFW -- to join us. You know  
L8 how this **can** work better, so let's get it done, together.

P37

L1 We're also focused on the urgent needs of our veterans with PTSD. We've poured  
L2 tremendous resources into this fight -- thousands of more counselors and more  
L3 clinicians, more care and more treatment. And we've made it easier for veterans  
L4 with PTSD to qualify for VA benefits. But after a decade of war, it's now an  
L5 epidemic. We're losing more troops to suicide -- one every single day -- than we  
L6 are in combat. According to some estimates, about 18 veterans are taking their  
L7 lives each day -- more every year than all the troops killed in Iraq and Afghanistan  
L8 combined. That's a tragedy. It's heartbreaking. It **should not** be happening in the  
L9 United States of America.

P38

L1 So when I hear about service members and veterans who had the courage to seek  
L2 help but didn't get it, who died waiting, that's an outrage. And I've told Secretary  
L3 Panetta, Chairman Dempsey and Secretary Shinseki we've got to do better. This  
L4 has to be all hands on deck. So our message to everyone who's ever worn the  
L5 uniform -- if you're hurting, it's not a sign of weakness to seek help, it's a sign of  
L6 strength. And when you do, we **will** be there and do more to help -- including more  
L7 counselors and clinicians to help you heal. We need to end this tragedy, VFW.  
L8 (Applause.) And we're going to work together to make it happen.

P39

L1 So, too with our campaign to end homelessness among our veterans. We've now  
L2 helped to bring tens of thousands of veterans off the streets and into permanent  
L3 housing. This has to be a core mission, because every veteran who has fought for  
L4 America **ought to** have a home in America. (Applause.)

P40

L1 And this brings me to the last promise I want to discuss with you. Four years ago, I  
L2 said that I **will** do everything I **could** to help our veterans realize the American  
L3 Dream, to enlist you in building a stronger America. After all, our veterans have

L4 the skills that America needs. So today, our economy is growing and creating jobs,  
L5 but it's still too hard for too many folks to find work, especially our younger  
L6 veterans, our veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan. And with a million more troops  
L7 rejoining civilian life in the years ahead -- and looking for work -- we've got to  
L8 step up our game, at every stage of their careers.

P41

L1 So today, I'm announcing a major overhaul of our transition assistance program.  
L2 We're going to set up a kind of "reverse boot camp" for our departing service  
L3 members. Starting this year, they'll get more personalized assistance as they plan  
L4 their careers. We'll provide the training they need to find that job, or pursue that  
L5 education, or start that business. And just as they've maintained their military  
L6 readiness, we'll have new standards of "career readiness. "In addition, by making  
L7 the Post-9/11 GI Bill a priority, we've helped more than 800,000 veterans and their  
L8 families pursue their education. And I've issued an executive order to help put a  
L9 stop to schools that are ripping off our veterans. (Applause.)

P41

L1 I've directed the federal government to step up on jobs. Since I took office, we've  
L2 hired more than 200,000 veterans into the federal government. We made it a  
L3 priority. (Applause.) And we're keeping track -- every agency, every department:  
L4 What are you doing for our veterans? I've challenged community health centers to  
L5 hire thousands of veterans as physicians and nurses. And as we help local  
L6 communities hire new police officers and firefighters and first responders, we're  
L7 giving a preference to veterans.

P42

L1 We're also fighting to get more vets hired in the private sector. With new tools like  
L2 our online Veterans Jobs Bank, we're connecting veterans directly to jobs. We're  
L3 helping thousands of veterans get certified for good-paying jobs in manufacturing.  
L4 We succeeded in passing tax credits for businesses that hire our veterans and our  
L5 wounded warriors. And this morning, I signed into law the Veteran Skills to Jobs  
L6 Act -- making it easier for veterans to transfer their outstanding military skills into  
L7 the licenses and credentials they need to get civilian jobs. (Applause.)

P43

L1 If you are a young man that is in charge of a platoon or millions of dollars of  
L2 equipment and are taking responsibility, or you're a medic out in the field who is  
L3 saving lives every single day -- when you come home, you need to be credentialed  
L4 and certified quickly so you can get on the job. People should understand how  
L5 skilled you are. (Applause.) And there shouldn't be bureaucrats or runarounds.  
L6 We've got to put those folks to work.

P44

L1 Last summer, I also challenged the private sector to hire or train 100,000 veterans  
L2 or their spouses. Michelle and Jill Biden have been leading the effort, through  
L3 Joining Forces. And so far, thousands of patriotic businesses have hired or trained  
L4 more than 90,000 veterans and spouses. And our message to companies is simple:  
L5 If you want somebody who gets the job done, then hire a vet. (Applause.) Hire a  
L6 vet. Hire a vet and they will make you proud just like they've made America proud.



P45

L1 And we're fighting for veterans who want to start their own businesses, including  
L2 more training in entrepreneurship. It's one of the reasons we've cut taxes -- 18  
L3 times for small businesses, including veteran-owned businesses. And the effects  
L4 ripple out, because vets are more likely to hire vets. So today, we **can** point to  
L5 progress. More veterans are finding jobs; the unemployment rate for veterans has  
L6 come down. Yes, it's still too high, but it's coming down. And now we've got to  
L7 sustain that momentum. It's one of the reasons I've proposed to Congress a  
L8 Veterans Jobs Corps to put our veterans back to work protecting and rebuilding  
L9 America. And today, I am again calling on Congress: Pass this Veterans Jobs Corps  
L10 and extend the tax credits for businesses that hire veterans so we **can** give these  
L11 American heroes the jobs and opportunities that they deserve. (Applause.)

P46

L1 So, VFW, these are the promises that I made. These are the promises that I've kept.  
L2 Where we still have more to do, we **will not** rest. That's my vow to you. I've got  
L3 your back. I've got your six. Because we have a solemn obligation to all who serve  
L4 -- not just for the years you're in uniform, but for all the decades that follow, and  
L5 because even though today's wars are ending, the hard work of taking care of our  
L6 newest veterans has only just begun.

P47

L1 Just as you protected America, we're going to pass our country to the next  
L2 generation, stronger and safer and more respected in the world. So if anyone tries  
L3 to tell you that our greatness has passed, that America is in decline, you tell them  
L4 this: Just like the 20th century, the 21st is going to be another great American  
L5 Century. For we are Americans, blessed with the greatest form of government ever  
L6 devised by man, a democracy dedicated to freedom and committed to the ideals  
L7 that still light the world. We **will** never apologize for our way of life; we **will** never  
waver in its defense.

P48

L1 We are a nation that freed millions and turned adversaries into allies. We are the  
L2 Americans who defended the peace and turned back aggression. We are Americans  
L3 who welcome our global responsibilities and our global leadership. The United  
L4 States has been, and **will** remain, the one indispensable nation in world affairs.  
L5 And you, you are the soldiers, the sailors, the airmen, the Marines and the Coast  
L6 Guardsmen who have kept us strong. We **will** honor your legacy. And we **will**  
L7 ensure that the military you served, and the America that we love, remains the  
L8 greatest force for freedom that the world has ever known.

God bless you. God bless all of our veterans. And God bless the United States of  
America. (Applause)

Text 5: Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Remarks at a Campaign Event  
McLean, Virginia  
July 27, 2012

P1

L1 Hello, everybody! (Applause.) Well, it is good to be with all of you. And I just  
L2 want to say to Earl and Amanda, thank you so much for opening up your beautiful  
L3 home. They have been great supports for a very long time.

P2

L1 And I want to thank all the other co-hosts -- the Moores, the Moreheads, the Slades  
L2 -- thank you, all of you, who helped to put this thing together. It is a great, great  
event. (Applause.)

P3

L1 I know it's a little warm out here, but you know, it's summertime. (Laughter.) It's  
L2 summertime, so you're supposed to bead up a little bit. (Laughter.)

P4

L1 You know, this is going to be my last campaign. I'm term-limited, I **can't** run again.  
L2 Michelle is perfectly happy with that. (Laughter.) But it's made me a little bit  
L3 nostalgic about some of my first campaigns. I think back to the first time I ran as a  
L4 -- for state senate in the South Side of Chicago. (Applause.) And back then, we  
L5 didn't have a lot of support there initially, so I had to go Xerox my flyers at  
L6 Kinko's. (Laughter.) And Michelle and I and some friends, we'd go and knock on  
L7 doors, and people would say, "Who?" "How do you say that name again?"  
(Laughter.)

P5

L1 I won that first race, and then I ran for the U.S. Senate. And the thing about Illinois  
L2 is it's a big state and a diverse state, so I **d** have to drive all around the state. And  
L3 back then I didn't have Marine One or Air Force One, so I **d** do my own driving. I  
L4 **might** have a staff person in the passenger seat. And the young people out there,  
L5 you **may not** understand this, but we had these things called maps. (Laughter.) So  
L6 we didn't have GPS back then. And they were on pieces of paper, and you **d** have  
L7 to unfold them and then fold them again. (Laughter.) And you **d** get lost. And then  
L8 I **d** have to find my own parking spot. And if it was raining, I **d** have to be  
L9 reaching in the back to see if I **could** find an umbrella.

P6

L1 But wherever I went -- inner-city, farm town, suburbs -- whatever people I was  
L2 meeting, whatever background they were from, they all had a similar story. It was  
L3 similar to the story of my family. If I **d** met an older person -- what are you talking  
L4 about, young lady? (Laughter.) I'm calling you out. (Applause.) She is talking  
L5 about how to get her picture right. (Laughter.) I'm just teasing you. (Laughter.)

P7

L1 But if I met an older veteran, I **d** think about my grandparents and how my

L2 grandfather fought in World War II. When he came back, he was able to go to  
L3 college on the GI Bill. And my grandparents were able to buy their first home with  
L4 an FHA loan.

P8

L1 And if I met a single mom, I'd think about my mom, and how, even though she  
L2 didn't have money and she only had the support of her parents -- my grandparents  
L3 -- she was able to put herself through school, work at the same time, and still give L4  
her kids a great education. And I would think about -- if I'd met a working couple L5  
I'd think about Michelle's parents. Some of you may know, Michelle's dad had MS, L6  
so by the time I met him he could barely walk, had to use two canes. And he'd  
L7 have to wake up an hour earlier than everybody else to get dressed and get to work  
L8 on time. But he never missed a day of work. And Michelle's mom worked as a  
L9 secretary most of her life at a bank. And they didn't have a lot, but they were able  
L10 to give their children, Michelle and her brother, the kind of education and love  
L11 and support that would allow them to pursue their dreams.

P9

L1 And so the point is that everywhere I went I'd meet people with the same story.  
L2 And at its core was this basic idea that here in America, no matter what you look  
L3 like, no matter where you come from, you should be able to make it if you work  
L4 hard. You should be able to get ahead if you act responsibly. It's that idea that built  
L5 the strongest middle class on Earth, and made us an economic superpower.

P10

L1 And the idea that being in the middle class, by the way, was not necessarily a  
L2 matter of your bank account. It had to do with could you find a job that paid a  
L3 living wage, that supported a family. Could you make sure you were able to have  
L4 a home that you could call you own; that you wouldn't go bankrupt when you get  
L5 sick; that you would be able to give your kids a great education and they could  
L6 achieve things that you never even dreamed of, and then hopefully you could  
L7 retire with some dignity and some respect.

P11

L1 That was the idea of America. And when we decided in 2008 to launch this  
L2 improbable campaign, the idea behind it was that idea -- how do we restore an  
L3 America where everybody can make it if they try. Because we had gone through a  
L4 decade in which it hadn't been true for a lot of folks. I mean, the decade before I  
L5 was sworn in, we saw the most sluggish job growth in decades. A few people were  
L6 doing very well, but for the vast majority of people, wages and incomes were  
L7 going down while the cost of everything from college to health care were going up.  
L8 And this all culminated in the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. So  
L9 what we said was, America deserves better -- deserves better leadership, deserves  
L10 a better vision. And a lot of people didn't give us a chance. But because of you,  
L11 we were able not just to win an election but begin this process of turning America  
L12 towards a better vision for the future. (Applause.)

P12

L1 Now, over the last three and a half years we've had a lot of work to do. But  
L2 because of our efforts, instead of losing 800,000 jobs per month we created 4.5  
L3 million jobs over the last several years -- (applause) -- half a million in  
L4 manufacturing, strongest manufacturing job growth since the 1990s. We saved an

L5 auto industry that was on the brink of collapse. (Applause.) We were able to  
L6 stabilize the financial system, help small businesses, and slowly the  
L7 unemployment rate has begun to come down.

P13

L1 But we understand we've got more work to do. We're not there yet. There's still  
L2 millions of people who are still out of work, and we've got too many people whose  
L3 housing -- whose homes are underwater. Too many people still struggling to pay  
L4 the bills. So our goal was not just to get back to where we were before the crisis.  
L5 Our goal was to build an economy that **would** last for decades to come, for the  
L6 next generation.

P14

L1 And that's why, even as we were working on fixing the economy, we also said let's  
L2 make sure that nobody goes bankrupt when they get sick. Let's pass a health care  
L3 law that **can** ensure that all Americans have access to high-quality health care.  
L4 (Applause.) That's the reason why we reformed our student loan system so that we  
L5 **could** expand Pell grants and make sure that millions of people were able to get  
L6 thousands of dollars of assistance in sending their kids to college -- and, by the  
L7 way, also making sure that young people were dealing with less debt when they  
graduate. (Applause.)

P15

L1 That's why we put in place Wall Street reform so we don't have another  
L2 taxpayer-funded bailout. (Applause.) Because we insisted that banks have enough  
L3 capital requirements and that they have a plan so that if they make bad decisions,  
L4 it's not going to cost you any money, it **will** cost them money. And so the question  
L5 is, are we going to continue down this path of building an economy that lasts,  
L6 where everybody gets a fair shot, everybody does their fair share, everybody plays  
L7 by the same set of rules? I believe that's the right vision for the future. (Applause.)  
L8 And that's why I'm running for a second term as President of the United States of  
America. (Applause.)

P16

L1 Now, there's as stark a choice in this election as we've seen in a very long time  
L2 because the other side just has some different ideas. Mr. Romney's basic idea, and  
L3 his allies in Congress, is what I call top-down economics. He wants to -- Bill  
L4 Clinton a couple months ago said, they basically want to do the same thing that  
L5 they did before -- except on steroids. (Laughter.) So they don't want to just  
L6 continue the Bush tax cuts; they want to add another \$5 trillion of tax cuts on top  
L7 of that, mostly going to folks who don't need tax cuts and weren't even asking for tax  
cuts.

P17

L1 It **will** be paid for by gutting our investments in education, our investments in  
L2 infrastructure, our investments in research and development; voucherizing  
L3 Medicare. That is not a recipe for long-term growth. And we've got an example of  
L4 how they approach problems right now because the Senate just passed a bill that I L5  
have been pushing that says right now, if we don't do anything, if Congress does  
L6 nothing, everybody's taxes go up on January 1st, which **would** be tough on the  
L7 economy and tough on a lot of families.

P18

L1 So what I've said is let's say that everybody who makes \$250,000 a year or less,  
L2 that their taxes **won't** go up -- the incomes taxes **will not** go up a dime. Let's give  
L3 them some certainty. By the way, that includes 97 percent of small businesses. The  
L4 Senate passed it; the House, so far, has not. If we get 218 votes out of the House,  
L5 the vast majority of the country **will** have certainty next year that their taxes **will**  
L6 **not** go up. But so far at least, the House's attitude is we're not going to do that  
L7 unless we also get a trillion dollar's worth of tax cuts for the wealthy. That's a bad  
L8 bargain for America. That's not how we grow an economy. I don't believe in  
L9 top-down economics. I believe in middle-out economics and bottom-up economics.  
L10 I believe that when everybody is doing well, then folks at the top do well also  
L11 because they've got customers who have money in their pockets.

AUDIENCE: Yes!

P19

L1 THE PRESIDENT: That's the choice in this election. And the good news is you're  
L2 going to be able to be the tie-breaker. You **can** break this stalemate. And that is  
L3 why I'm running for a second term as President, to break that stalemate once and for  
all. (Applause.)

P20

L1 So let me tell you what my vision is. My vision is that just as we were able to  
L2 make sure that the auto industry in America stayed strong, we've got to bet on  
L3 American workers and American manufacturing, and that means we got to stop  
L4 giving tax breaks to companies that ship jobs overseas. Let's give tax breaks to  
L5 companies that are investing right here in the United States of America, right here L6  
in Virginia -- (applause) -- because we've got the best workers in the world and the L7  
best innovation in the world. What we need is a tax code that works for folks who L8  
are investing here in the United States. That's my vision.

P21

L1 My vision is to make sure that our education system is working for every child,  
L2 not just some children. (Applause.) So I want to help school districts hire the best  
L3 teachers, new teachers -- especially in math and science. I want to open up  
L4 community colleges for 2 million more people so that they **can** get trained for the  
L5 jobs that local businesses are hiring for right now. And I want to make sure that  
L6 college is even more affordable -- not just to continuing the tax credits we put in  
L7 place, not just continuing the expansion of Pell grants we've put in place, but also  
L8 let's bring down tuition costs so that our young people are not burdened with debt.  
L9 Because a higher education, it's not a luxury today, it is an economic necessity in 20  
L10 the 21st century. That's what we're fighting for, and that's why I'm running for a  
second term as President of the United States. (Applause.)

P22

L1 I want to make sure that we are investing in America. I promised I'd end the war in  
L2 Iraq -- we ended it. (Applause.) I said we'd go after al Qaeda -- we have gone after  
L3 them. (Applause.) We are now transitioning out of Afghanistan, putting Afghans in  
L4 the lead for their country's own security. And now after a decade of war, I think it  
L5 makes sense for us to take half the savings from war and let's use it to do some  
L6 nation-building here at home. Let's make sure that we're rebuilding our roads and  
L7 our bridges. Let's build broadband lines into rural communities and improve our

L8 wireless networks and rebuild our ports and airports.

P23

L1 We **can** put people to work right now doing the work that America needs done. It  
L2 **will** be good for those hard hats who have more money in their pockets. They'**ll** go  
L3 to restaurants, and they'**ll** shop at local businesses. And the entire economic **will**  
L4 get a lift, plus we **will** make ourselves more competitive for decades to come.  
L5 That's how we build an America that lasts. That's why I'm running for a second  
L6 term as President of the United States of America. (Applause.)

P24

L1 I don't want to refight the battles we've already fought. Health care was the right  
L2 thing to do -- 30 million people **will** have health insurance that did not have it  
L3 before. (Applause.) Your children **can** stay on your health insurance plan till  
L4 they're 26 years old. Women are getting preventative care. We are not going to go  
L5 back to the old days when insurance companies **could** just jerk you around for no  
L6 reason. The Supreme Court has spoken. We are now implementing it, and America  
L7 is going to be better for it. (Applause.)

P25

L1 The same way that we are not going back to the days when you **couldn't** serve the  
L2 country you love just because of you who you love. We ended "don't ask, don't  
L3 tell." That was the right thing to do. We are moving forward. We're not going to  
L4 roll back funding for Planned Parenthood -- as my opponent opposes -- because I  
L5 think women **should** have control over their health care choices just like  
L6 everybody else does. (Applause.) We're not going backwards.

P26

L1 And when it comes to the debt and the deficit, we're going to lower it, but we're  
L2 going to do it in a balanced, responsible way. We're not going to lower it on the  
L3 backs of the poor and the middle class. We're going to make cuts in programs that  
L4 don't work. We're going to streamline government. We've made government  
L5 already more responsive, and we're going to continue. But we're also going to ask  
L6 the wealthiest folks, people like me -- and, yes, I'm sorry, Earl, you qualify --  
L7 (laughter) -- to do a little bit more because we have been incredibly blessed.

AUDIENCE: Yes!

P28

L1 THE PRESIDENT: And this country gave us opportunity, and we've got to make  
L2 sure that we are giving opportunity to the next generation. That's a worthy  
L3 investment. That's how America grew. We built this nation together. And I want to  
L4 make sure that we continue to have that vision as we think about Malia and Sasha,  
L5 your children, your grandchildren. I don't want to go backwards.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Me either!

THE PRESIDENT: We're going to need to go forwards. (Applause.)

P29

L1 Now, when we ran in 2008, I told you this **would not** be easy and this **would not**



L2 be quick. And I told you it **might** take more than one year, more than one term,  
L3 maybe even more than one President. But we've made progress. And so now what  
L4 you're going to be seeing over the next three months is more money spent, mostly  
L5 on negative ads than we've ever seen before. Some folks are writing \$10 million  
L6 checks to try to replace me. And basically they make the same argument all the  
L7 time -- because they know their economic theories don't really work, or at least  
L8 they don't sell, so their argument **will** be: The economy is not where it **should**, and  
L9 it's Obama's fault. They **will** have variations on it, but they **will** do the same ad over and  
L10 over and over and over again. You're already seeing them in Virginia and some  
other states.

P30

L1 And, look, you always got to be a little concerned when folks are writing \$10  
L2 million checks. But what gives me confidence and what gives me faith is you. So  
L3 many of you supported us in 2008. And remember, we were outspent for a time,  
L4 and we were counted out. I've been outspent before. But what I've understood is  
L5 that when the American people really start paying attention, they **can** cut through  
L6 the nonsense. When the American people are paying attention, they're the ones  
L7 who **will** determine what is true, what is right, what's consistent with our values.

P31

L1 And when all of you start thinking back to your own family's history. Some of you,  
L2 parents, grandparents came here as immigrants. Some of you, your ancestors came  
L3 here in chains. But the running story has been our capacity, each generation, to say  
L4 if we work hard, there's a better day ahead; that if we act responsibly -- whether  
L5 we're working on a farm or in a factory or in a mill or down in a mine -- that next  
L6 generation, they're going to be able to do things I **couldn't** do. So maybe I **can't**  
L7 own a business, but if I really work hard, some day, maybe my daughter owns a  
L8 business. I **might not** own a home, but if I work really hard, maybe some day, my  
L9 son, he **will** build homes. I **might not** be able to vote, but some day, maybe a great  
L10 grandson, or a great-great grandson **will** end up being a senator or a mayor or  
L11 maybe even the President of the United States. That has been the story of our  
history.

P32

L1 And when the American people are reminded of that, when we focus on what's  
L2 best in our traditions, then I don't fear \$10 million checks. Then I have confidence  
L3 that change **will** happen, and we **will** keep moving forward.

P33

L1 So let me just say to all of you, in addition to thanks, we've got a little over a  
L2 hundred days left. In that campaign in 2008, we went through a lot of ups and  
L3 downs, and I tried to not make promises that I **couldn't** keep. So I promised I **d**  
L4 end the war in Iraq -- I ended it. I promised, we'd cut taxes for middle-class families  
-- we did.

P34

L1 But the biggest promise I made, I said, I'm not a perfect man -- Michelle **can** tell  
L2 you that -- (laughter) -- and I **won't** be a perfect President. But what I **can** promise  
L3 you is that I **will** always tell you what I think, I **will** always tell you where I stand,  
L4 and I **will** spend every single day fighting as hard as I know how for you. And I

L5 have kept that promise. (Applause.) I have kept that promise because I believe in  
L6 you. And in you I see my own story. In your grandparents I see my grandparents.  
L7 In your children I see Malia and Sasha. I know where you've been because that's  
L8 where I've been. That's where Michelle has been. And we know what it means to  
L9 struggle, but we also know what it means to receive the incredible blessings of this  
country.

P35

L1 So if you still believe in me and you're willing to stand with me -- (applause) –  
L2 and keep on going, not just today, not just tomorrow, not just next week, not just  
L3 next month, but for the next 105 days, and then four more years after that –  
L4 (applause) -- then we'll finish what we started. We **will** bring this economy all the  
L5 way back and more. And we'll remind the world just why it is the United States of  
L6 America is the greatest nation on Earth. (Applause.)

Thank you, everybody. God bless you. (Applause.) God bless the United States of  
America. (Applause.) Appreciate you.



Text 6: Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Remarks at a Campaign Event  
Mansfield, Ohio  
August 1, 2012

P1

L1 Hello, Ohio! (Applause.) Well, it is good to be in Mansfield. I hope everybody is L2 having a great summer. (Applause.)

P2

L1 A couple of people I want to acknowledge -- first of all, please give a huge round L2 of applause to Brenda for that great introduction. (Applause.) And go try some of L3 her pizza if you have not tried it. (Laughter.) You got a testimony right here -- he L4 says it's outstanding. I want to thank her so much for doing this.

P3

L1 A couple other people -- your outstanding former governor, Ted Strickland, is here. L2 Give Ted a big round of applause. (Applause.) And although he **couldn't** be here L3 because he's got votes, I just want to tell you that you **could not** have a stronger L4 advocate than your hometown boy, the United States Senator from Ohio, Sherrod L5 Brown. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE MEMBERS: We love you!

THE PRESIDENT: I love you back. (Applause.)

P4

L1 And I want to thank all the neighborhood team leaders who are here who are L2 working so hard in this campaign. (Applause.) Now, finally, I just think it makes L3 sense for us to give it up for all of our outstanding American athletes who are L4 competing in London right now. (Applause.) I want to congratulate Michael L5 Phelps -- (applause) -- most medals we've ever seen. And then I had a chance on L6 the way over here to call up the women's gymnastic team -- (applause) -- for L7 bringing home the gold.

P5

L1 I have to tell you, when I'm watching -- when people run track, I understand, I L2 know how to run. They're just much faster. (Laughter.) And I know how to swim -- L3 they just swim much better than I do. These gymnastics folks -- I don't understand L4 how they do what they do. (Laughter.) So I told these young ladies as I was L5 congratulating them, how do you not bust your head -- (laughter) -- every time L6 you're on that little balance beam? I **couldn't** walk across that balance beam. (Laughter.)

P6

L1 So, anyway, we **could not** be prouder of them. (Applause.) And there are a whole L2 bunch of Ohioans who are representing our country in the Olympics and the L3 Paralympics. Abby Johnston from Upper Arlington already won a silver medal in

L4 diving. (Applause.) We'll be rooting for Army Specialist Justin Lester from Akron L5 -- he's going to be wrestling for America next week. (Applause.) The wonderful L6 thing about the Olympics is it reminds us that, for all our differences, when it L7 comes down to our country, we're Americans first. (Applause.) And we **could not** L8 be prouder of them and everything they're doing on our behalf.

P7

L1 Now, unless you've been hiding from your television, you **may** be aware there's a L2 pretty intense campaign going on right now. (Applause.) And the reason that this is L3 an intense campaign is because the choice that we face in November **could not** be L4 bigger. I mean, this is a stark choice. It's a choice not just between two candidates L5 or two parties, but more than any election in recent memory, this is a choice L6 between two fundamentally different visions for America -- two fundamentally L7 different paths that we **should** -- that we **could** be going down.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: -- President Obama!

THE PRESIDENT: I appreciate that. (Laughter.)

P8

L1 Now, the direction that we choose -- the direction you choose when you walk into L2 this voting booth in November -- is going to have a direct impact on your lives, but L3 also on your children's lives and your grandchildren's lives. (Applause.) And four L4 years ago, we came together -- as Democrats, but also independents and some L5 Republicans -- to restore the basic bargain that built the greatest middle class and L6 the most prosperous country the world has ever known. (Applause.) And it's a L7 bargain that I've lived in my life and so many of you have experienced. It's the L8 basic idea that says here in this country, if you work hard, that work **should** be L9 rewarded. (Applause.) If you act responsibly, you **should** be able to get ahead.

P10

L1 It's a deal that says if we put in enough effort, we **should** be able to find a job that L2 pays the bills. We **should** be able to afford a home that we call our own. We L3 **should** have health care that we **can** count on if we get sick. (Applause.) We L4 **should** be able to retire with dignity and respect. (Applause.) And most of all, we L5 **should** be able to give our children the kind of education that allows them to L6 dream even bigger and do even better than we ever imagined. (Applause.) That's L7 what we believe. (Applause.)

P11

L1 It's a simple promise. It's at the core of the American Dream. And we knew that L2 restoring it **wouldn't** be easy -- we knew it **would** take more than one year, or one L3 term, or even one President. And that was before the middle class was hammered L4 by the worst economic crisis of our lifetimes -- a crisis that robbed too many of L5 our friends and our neighbors of their homes, their jobs, their savings -- and L6 pushed the American Dream even further out of reach for too many people.

P12

L1 But you know what, there's one thing that that crisis did not changed. It did not L2 change who we are. It did not change the American character. It did not change L3 what made us great. It hasn't changed why we came together to do what we did in L4 2008 -- it's just made our mission more urgent. (Applause.) Our first order of L5 business is to recover all the jobs and wealth that was lost in the crisis. And we've

L6 made strides these last three and a half years to get that done. But beyond that,  
L7 we're here to reclaim the financial security that's been slipping away for more than a decade.

P13

L1 The decade before I came into office, your incomes and wages generally weren't  
L2 going up, jobs were moving overseas, the auto industry had been getting  
L3 hammered. So our job is not just to put people back to work. It's also to build an  
L4 economy where, over the long haul, that work pays off -- so that no matter who  
L5 you are, or what you look like, or where you come from, here in America, you **can**  
L6 make it if you try. (Applause.) That's what this campaign is about, Ohio. And that's  
L7 why I'm running for a second term as President of the United States of America.  
(Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

P14

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Now, Mansfield, there are no quick fixes or easy solutions to  
L2 the challenges we face. But there's no doubt in my mind we've got the capacity to  
L3 meet them. Think about everything that we have going for us here in America.  
L4 We've got the best workers. (Applause.) We've got the best entrepreneurs.  
L5 (Applause.) We've got the best scientists. We've got the best researchers. We've got  
L6 the best colleges, best universities. (Applause.) We've got a Buckeye guy right  
L7 here. (Applause.) We're a young nation, with great diversity of talent and ingenuity.  
L8 People come here -- want to come here from every corner of the globe. So no  
L9 matter what the naysayers tell us, no matter how dark the other side tries to make  
L10 things look, there is not another country on Earth that **wouldn't** gladly trade  
L11 places with the United States of America. (Applause.)

P15

L1 So what's standing in our way is not that we don't have the ingredients to make the  
L2 21st century the American Century just like the 20th. The problem we've got right  
L3 now is our politics -- the sort of uncompromising view, the notion that we **should**  
L4 be going back to what we were doing that got us into this mess in the first place,  
L5 instead of going forward to achieve a brighter American future. It's the old -- it's  
L6 that old top-down economics that we've been hearing about for years -- the old,  
L7 discredited idea that if we somehow get rid of more regulations on big  
L8 corporations and give more tax breaks to the wealthiest Americans, that somehow L9  
that's going to lead to more jobs and prosperity for everybody.

P16

L1 Ohio, you know better. I know better. We know this country wasn't built from the  
L2 top down. It was built by the middle class. (Applause.) It was built by farmers and  
L3 factory workers, and startups and small businesses, and companies that sent  
L4 American products overseas, not sending American jobs overseas. That's what  
L5 built Ohio, and that's what built America. (Applause.) And that's what we're  
L6 fighting for. That's what we're fighting for right now. That's the economy we need  
L7 to build together. And I promise you, we **will not** get there if we adopt these ideas L8  
that somehow spending more money on tax cuts for millionaires and billionaires  
L9 who don't need them and aren't even asking for them is actually going to improve  
L10 the economy. We tried that -- it did not work.

Now, despite the evidence, the entire centerpiece of my opponent's economic plan is a new, \$5 trillion tax cut on top of the Bush tax cuts.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P17

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Now, the bulk of this tax cut **would** go to the very top. A lot of  
L2 it **would** go to the wealthiest 1 percent of all households. Folks making more than  
L3 \$3 million a year -- the top one-tenth of one percent -- **would** get a tax cut worth  
L4 almost a quarter of a million dollars. Now, think about that. Folks making \$3  
L5 million a year or more **would** get a quarter-of-a-million-dollar tax cut.

P18

L1 But, listen, it gets worse. (Laughter.) Under my opponent's plan, who do you think  
L2 gets the bill for these \$250,000 tax cuts? You do. And you do not have to take my  
L3 word for it. Just today, an independent, nonpartisan organization ran all the  
L4 numbers on Governor Romney's plan. This wasn't my staff, this wasn't something  
L5 we did -- an independent group ran the numbers. They found that if Governor  
L6 Romney wants to keep his word and pay for this plan, then he'd have to cut tax  
L7 breaks that middle-class families depend on to pay for your home -- the home  
L8 mortgage deduction -- to pay for your health care -- the health care deduction -- to  
L9 send your kids to college. That means the average middle-class family with  
L10 children, according to this study, **would** be hit with a tax increase of more than  
\$2,000.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P19

L1 THE PRESIDENT: And here's the thing. He's not asking you to contribute more to  
L2 pay down the deficit. He's not asking you to pay more to invest in our children's  
L3 education or rebuild our roads or put more folks back to work. He's asking you to  
L4 pay more so that people like him can get a big tax cut. In order to afford just one  
L5 \$250,000 tax cut for somebody like Mr. Romney, 125 families like yours **would**  
**L6** have to pay another \$2,000 in taxes each and every year.

Does that sound like a good plan for economic growth?

AUDIENCE: No!

THE PRESIDENT: Does that sound like a plan you can afford?

AUDIENCE: No!

THE PRESIDENT: How many of you want to pay another \$2,000 to give Mr. Romney  
or me another tax break?

AUDIENCE: No!

P20

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Ohio, we do not need more tax cuts for folks who are already  
L2 doing really well. We need tax cuts for working Americans. We need tax cuts for  
L3 families who are trying to raise their children, and keep them healthy, and send  
L4 them to college, and put a roof over their heads. (Applause.) We don't need more  
L5 tax cuts for companies that are shipping jobs overseas -- we need tax cuts for

L6 companies that are creating jobs right here in the United States of America.  
(Applause.)

P21

L1 That's the choice in this election. That's why I'm running for a second term as  
L2 President of the United States. (Applause.) Mansfield, I've got a different plan for  
L3 America than Mr. Romney's. Four years ago, I promised to cut middle-class taxes,  
L4 and that's exactly what I've done -- by a total of about \$3,600 for the typical family.  
L5 (Applause.) Now I want to keep income taxes exactly where they are on the first  
L6 \$250,000 of everybody's income. So if your family makes under \$250,000 a year  
L7 -- which is 98 percent of American families -- you **won't** see your income taxes  
L8 increase by a single dime next year. (Applause.)

P22

L1 Now, if you're fortunate enough to be in the other 2 percent of Americans, all we're  
L2 asking you to do is contribute a little bit more -- this includes me, by the way -- so  
L3 that we **can** pay down our deficit and invest in things like education that are going  
L4 to help us grow over the long term. (Applause.)

P23

L1 And in terms of cutting our deficit, I **will** make sure government does its part. We're  
L2 going to cut away spending that we don't need. We've already cut a trillion dollars.  
L3 We **can** do more. But I'm not going to pay for massive new tax cuts for  
L4 millionaires and billionaires by gutting the investments that have always kept the  
L5 middle class strong. (Applause.) All we're asking people like me and Mr. Romney  
L6 to do is go back to the rates we paid under Bill Clinton. (Applause.) And I don't  
L7 know if you remember -- that's when our economy created nearly 23 million new  
L8 jobs, the biggest budget surplus in history. (Applause.)

P24

L1 And here's the kicker -- it actually created a lot of millionaires, because when the  
L2 middle class is doing well, then our businesses do well. When folks have money to  
L3 spend, they buy a new car, and the car companies do well, and they hire more  
L4 workers. (Applause.) When you've got some extra money in your pockets, then  
L5 you go get some pizza from Brenda. (Applause.) And then Brenda decides, maybe  
L6 she can afford to hire another worker. That's how we grow our economy.

P25

L1 If we're investing in roads and bridges, putting some hard-hats back to work,  
L2 getting our steelworkers back to work -- (applause) -- they've got more money to  
L3 spend. Maybe they buy that new computer. Maybe they decide to take a little  
L4 vacation. And all that money circulates in the economy and it makes us all grow.  
L5 So here's the bottom line, Ohio. If you believe that their plan -- Mr. Romney's plan  
L6 and his congressional allies -- if you genuinely believe that that plan **will** make  
L7 you better off, if you believe it's okay for them to tell us just to set our sights lower,  
L8 or to settle for something less, then by all means, send these folks back to  
L9 Washington for the next few years.

AUDIENCE: No!

P26

L1 THE PRESIDENT: But **wouldn't** you be better off, **wouldn't** we all be better off  
L2 if we kept fighting for the things that have always made us strong?

AUDIENCE: Yes!

P27

L1 THE PRESIDENT: If we fought to make higher education more affordable so  
L2 more young people **can** go to college? (Applause.) **Wouldn't** we be better off if  
L3 we invested to develop new sources of American energy? **Wouldn't** we be better  
L4 off if we kept investing in manufacturing so that we **can** sell goods around the  
L5 world stamped with the words: "Made in Mansfield, Ohio" -- (applause) -- "Made  
L6 in the United States of America." (Applause.)

P28

L1 In five years, or 10 years, or 20 years, **won't** we be better off if we've got the  
L2 courage to keep moving forward? (Applause.) To keep working our way back.  
L3 That's what I believe. That's why I'm running for President. (Applause.)

P29

L1 You know, my hair may be grayer than it was four years ago. (Laughter.) But my  
L2 determination to do right by you is stronger than ever. (Applause.) My faith in you  
L3 is stronger than ever. (Applause.) And if you still believe in me like I believe in  
L4 you, I hope you'll stand with me in November. (Applause.) I'm asking you to stand  
L5 with me in November. I'm asking you to join this cause. Let's finish what we  
L6 started in 2008. (Applause.) Let's put the middle class back in the forefront.  
L7 (Applause.) Let's remind the world just why it is that the United States of America  
L8 is the greatest nation on Earth. (Applause.)

God bless you. God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

Texts 7:Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Campaign Remarks in Response to Mitt Romney's Selection of Paul Ryan as Vice  
President  
Chicago, Illinois  
August 12, 2012

Hello, Chicago! Thank you! How's everybody doing? (Applause.) It is good to be back home. Chicago looks good. And all of you look good. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: (Sings Happy Birthday.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you! Thank you very much. (Applause.) It is true, I am now 51. (Applause.) Michelle --

AUDIENCE MEMBER: So am I!

THE PRESIDENT: You are, too? You look better than I do. (Laughter.) Michelle says I do not look a day over 50. (Laughter.)

P1

L1 There are a couple of people I want to acknowledge. First of all, DJ Vince Adams,  
L2 thank you so much. (Applause.) DJ Cassidy, thank you so much. My great friend,  
L3 Kal Penn, thank you for all that you do. And everybody on the Gen 44 host  
L4 committee, thank you for the great job you guys did. (Applause.)

P2

L1 Now, we just had the Olympics Closing Ceremony. We **could not** be prouder of  
L2 our U.S. athletes -- (applause) -- bringing home the gold, conducting themselves as  
L3 we **would** hope that somebody **would** conduct themselves representing the United  
L4 States. They just did an outstanding job.

P3

L1 And I know that all of you look like pretty smart folks, so you were spending most  
L2 of your time watching the Olympics, if you were watching TV. But unless your  
L3 cable is broken, you probably also know we've got a pretty intense campaign  
L4 going on right now. (Applause.) And the reason that this is such an intense  
L5 campaign is because we **could not** have a bigger choice in front of us than the one  
L6 that we face in November.

P4

L1 It's not just a choice between two candidates or two political parties. More than  
L2 any other election, this is a choice about two different visions for the country, for  
L3 two different directions of where America **should** go. And the direction that we  
L4 choose, the direction that you choose when you walk into that voting booth in  
L5 November, is going to make a difference not just in your life, but in the lives of  
L6 your children and in the lives of your grandchildren. It **will** make a difference for  
L7 decades to come.



P5

L1 Now, four years ago, we came together, not just Democrats -- we had Republicans,  
L2 we had independents -- we came together because we felt as if the basic bargain  
L3 that built this country was in danger. It was a bargain that said here in America, if  
L4 you work hard, you can get ahead. The basic idea that if you act responsibly, if you  
L5 are putting in all your effort, then you **can** find a job that pays the bills. You **can**  
L6 find a home you **can** call your own. You **can** send your kids to college. You **won't**  
L7 go bankrupt when you get sick. You **can** retire with dignity and respect. And most  
L8 importantly, the next generation **can** dream even bigger and do even better than we  
L9 ever imagined. That's the core of the American Dream. That's the basic American  
L10 promise that made us the envy of the world; that made us the most powerful  
L11 economy in the world; that built the largest middle class in the world -- that idea  
L12 that here in America, you **can** make it if you try.

P6

L1 Now, we had gone through a decade in which that basic compact seemed as if it  
L2 wasn't true for too many people. Folks at the top were doing very well, but for  
L3 ordinary families all across America, it felt as if people were working harder,  
L4 making less while the costs of everything from health care to college were going  
L5 up. Jobs were being shipped overseas. We ran two wars on a credit card. We turned  
L6 surpluses into deficit. And it all culminated in the worst financial crisis since the  
L7 Great Depression.

P7

L1 Now, we've spent the last three and half years trying to get us back on track. We  
L2 saved an auto industry on the brink of collapse. (Applause.) We worked with the  
L3 financial sector to start doing things the old-fashioned way -- lending to businesses  
L4 and families, instead of engaging in reckless speculation. Four and a half million  
L5 new jobs have been created; half a million manufacturing jobs -- the most since  
L6 the 1990s. (Applause.)

P8

L1 But, Chicago, we've got a long way to go. All of us know friends, neighbors,  
L2 family members who are still out of work or whose homes are still underwater.  
L3 Too many folks are still burdened by enormous college debt. Too many folks still  
L4 don't have a sense that tomorrow **will** be better than today. And so the question in  
L5 this election is, which way do we go? Do we go forward towards a new vision of  
L6 an America in which prosperity is shared, or do we go backward to the same  
L7 policies that got us into this mess in the first place?

AUDIENCE: Forward!

P9

L1 THE PRESIDENT: I believe we have to go forward. I believe we've got to keep  
L2 working to create an America where no matter who you are, no matter what you  
L3 look like, no matter where you come from, no matter what your last name is, no  
L4 matter who you love, you **can** make it here if you try. (Applause.) That's what's at  
L5 stake in November. That's why I'm running for a second term as President of the  
L6 United States of America. (Applause.)

P10

L1 Now, the good news is even though there are no quick fixes to our challenges,



L2 we've got everything we need to make things work here in America. We still have  
L3 the best workers in the world. (Applause.) We've still got the best entrepreneurs in  
L4 the world. We've got the best colleges, the best universities, the best scientists, the  
L5 best researchers. We're a young nation, and we've got the greatest diversity of  
L6 talent and ingenuity from every corner of the globe. Witness this room. Chicago is  
L7 an example of what makes this country great. (Applause.) Right?

P11

L1 So what's holding us back is not the lack of big ideas or good plans. What's  
L2 holding us back is a brand of Washington politics that says we are not going to  
L3 compromise, no matter what. It's gridlock and stalemates and dysfunction. And it's  
L4 an idea propagated by the other side that somehow we're going to grow this  
L5 economy from the top down, and that if people at the top are doing really, really  
L6 well, then everybody else is automatically going to benefit.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P12

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Now, this kind of top-down economics is central to Governor  
L2 Romney, and it is central to his running mate. Just yesterday morning, my  
L3 opponent chose his running mate, the ideological leader of the Republicans in  
L4 Congress -- Mr. Paul Ryan. And I want to congratulate --

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P13

L1 THE PRESIDENT: No, no, no, no. Look, I want to congratulate Congressman  
L2 Ryan. I know him. I welcome him to the race. Congressman Ryan is a decent man.  
L3 He is a family man. He's an articulate spokesman for Governor Romney's vision.  
L4 But it's a vision that I fundamentally disagree with. (Applause.) My opponent and  
L5 Congressman Ryan and their allies in Congress, they all believe that if we just get  
L6 rid of more regulations on big corporations and we give more tax breaks to the  
L7 wealthiest Americans, it **will** lead to jobs and prosperity for everybody else. That's  
L8 what they're proposing. That's where they **'ll** take us if they win.

P14

L1 And this is not speculation. It's on their websites. It's embodied in the budget that  
L2 the House Republicans voted for repeatedly. The centerpiece of Governor  
L3 Romney's entire economic plan is a new \$5 trillion tax cut, a lot of it going to the  
L4 wealthiest Americans. This is on top of the Bush tax cuts. Last week we found out  
L5 that to pay for this \$5 trillion tax cut, not only **would** we see them gut education  
investments --

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P15

L1 THE PRESIDENT: -- gut investments in science and research, gut investments in  
L2 things like rebuilding our roads and our bridges, but it turns out that Governor  
L3 Romney's tax plan **would** also raise taxes on middle-class families by an average of  
\$2,000 each.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P16

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Not to reduce the deficit, mind you. Not to create more jobs.

L2 Independent economists have looked at it -- they said there's nothing in Governor  
L3 Romney's plan that **would** create jobs right now. This **would** all be in order to give  
L4 another \$250,000 tax cut to people who are making \$3 million a year or more.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P17

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Let me tell you something. They have tried this before. They  
L2 have tried to sell us this trickle-down fairy dust before. (Laughter.) And guess what  
L3 -- it did not work. (Applause.) It did not work. It's not a plan to cut the deficit. It's  
L4 not a plan to create jobs. It's not a plan to revive the middle class. It's not a plan to  
L5 move our economy forward. We don't need more tax cuts for folks like me. We  
L6 need to give tax relief to working Americans. (Applause.) To middle-class families.  
L7 For folks who are trying to raise their kids and keep them healthy, and send them  
L8 to college, and keep a roof over their heads. That's the choice in this election. And  
L9 that's why I'm running for a second term as President of the United States of  
America. (Applause.)

P18

L1 Four years ago, I promised the American people I was going to cut taxes on  
L2 middle-class families -- and that's what I did. (Applause.) The typical middle-class  
L3 family is actually paying \$3,600 less in their taxes than when I came into office.  
L4 And I want to keep income taxes exactly where they are for everybody who's  
L5 making \$250,000 a year or more [sic] -- which is about 98 percent of the American  
L6 people, and 97 percent of small businesses. So if your income is \$250,000 or less,  
L7 your income taxes **will not** go up a dime. (Applause.)

P19

L1 On the other hand, if you're lucky enough, like I am, to be in the top 2 percent,  
L2 what we've said is you **can** afford to do a little bit more so that we **can** pay down  
L3 our deficit and still help young people go to college -- (applause) -- and still make  
L4 sure that we're investing in basic research to cure things like Alzheimer's and  
L5 cancer. We're asking you to contribute a little bit more.

P20

L1 And, look, government is still going to have to do its part. We've already cut a  
L2 trillion dollars of spending; an additional \$1.2 trillion is slated to be made. We **can**  
L3 cut out programs that don't work to make sure we **can** invest in the things that do.  
L4 We **can** make government more streamlined, more efficient. But if we're really  
L5 going to be serious about reducing the deficit and growing the economy, then for  
L6 folks like me to go back and pay at the rates that existed when Bill Clinton was  
L7 President, when we created 23 million new jobs, went from deficit to surplus, and L8  
created a whole bunch of millionaires to boot -- that is the right plan for America.  
L9 And by the way, the reason that it's the right plan is because when a construction  
L10 worker or a teacher or a receptionist -- when they've got a little money in their  
L11 pocket, what do they do?

AUDIENCE: Spend it!

P21

L1 THE PRESIDENT: They maybe go out and buy that new car, or buy that new  
L2 appliance, or go to a restaurant, or, heaven forbid, they take a vacation once in a  
L3 while. (Laughter.) And so that means business has more customers, and they hire  
L4 more workers. Historically, that is how our economy has grown. Not from the top

L5 down, but from the middle out, from the bottom up. When we create opportunity  
L6 for everybody who works hard to get ahead, this economy grows.

P23

L1 That's the choice in this election. That's why I'm running for a second term as  
L2 President of the United States. (Applause.) Now, that choice -- you **can** see it in  
L3 every issue between myself and Mr. Romney. When the auto industry was on the  
L4 brink of collapse, Governor Romney said, let's "let Detroit go bankrupt." I said,  
L5 with a million workers and an iconic American industry on the line, I'm going to  
L6 bet on the American worker. (Applause.) And you know what, three years later,  
L7 GM is number one again and the American auto has come roaring back.  
L8 (Applause.) That's the choice in this election. So now I want to make sure that  
L9 high-tech manufacturing takes root not in China, not in Germany, but here in the  
L10 United States. I want to stop giving tax breaks to companies that are shipping  
L11 jobs overseas. Let's give those tax breaks to companies that are investing here in  
L12 Chicago, investing in Cleveland, investing in Pittsburgh. (Applause.) Let's create  
L13 jobs here in the United States -- hiring American workers, making American  
L14 products, selling them around the world, stamped with three proud words: Made  
L15 in America. That's the choice in this election. (Applause.)

P24

L1 I'm running to make sure that after a decade of war, we start doing some  
L2 nation-building here at home. (Applause.) In 2008, I promised we'**d** end the war in  
L3 Iraq -- we've ended it. (Applause.) I said we'**d** go after al Qaeda and bin Laden --  
L4 we did. (Applause.) Now we're beginning a transition in Afghanistan, making  
L5 Afghans more responsible for their own security, and bringing our troops home.  
L6 All of this is possible only because of the extraordinary men and women in  
L7 uniform who protect our freedom every single day at great sacrifice to themselves.  
(Applause.)

P25

L1 But the question now is what country are they coming back to? We want to give  
L2 them a country full of opportunity. Now, part of that means making sure that we're  
L3 doing right by them. And as long as I am Commander-in-Chief, they are going to  
L4 get the benefits that they have earned -- (applause) -- because if you fought for  
L5 America, you **shouldn't** have to fight for a job or a roof over your head when you  
come home. (Applause.)

P26

L1 But it also means making sure the economy is absorbing all these folks who are  
L2 coming home -- which means I want to take about half of the money that we were  
L3 spending on war and let's start investing it here in rebuilding our schools and roads  
L4 and bridges. (Applause.) Let's make sure that we're putting teachers back to work.  
(Applause.)

P27

L1 There is so much that we **can** do with the savings that we had and it **will** make  
L2 America stronger, it **will** make America safer not just for the next five years or the  
L3 next 10 years, but for decades to come. That's the America we want to build. That's  
L4 the choice in this election. I'm running because I want to make sure we've got the  
L5 best education system in the world. (Applause.) So I want to help local school  
L6 districts hire and retain the best teachers, especially in math and science. I want to

L7 give 2 million more people the opportunity to go to community colleges and get  
L8 trained for the jobs that businesses are hiring for right now. And I want to make  
L9 sure, building on the work that we've already done, that we make college  
L10 affordable -- not only by making sure that we continue to expand our efforts in  
L11 Pell grants and student loans, but also that we're making sure that colleges and  
L12 universities are keeping their cost down. Because higher education is no longer a  
L13 luxury; it is an economic necessity in the 21st century, and we've got to fight for  
L14 it. (Applause.) That's the choice in this election.

P28

L1 On every issue, there is a stark contrast. When it comes to homeownership, my  
L2 opponent says, just let the foreclosures bottom out. That's not a solution. I want to  
L3 make sure that homeowners across American **can** refinance at historically low  
L4 rates, save \$3,000. How many people here **can** use an extra \$3,000? (Applause.)  
L5 That **would** strengthen the housing market and put money in people's pockets that  
L6 **will** make the economy stronger.

P29

L1 My opponent says that we **should** go back to the days when folks went broke  
L2 because they got sick. He wants to kill the Affordable Care Act -- also known  
L3 affectionately as Obama care. (Applause.) I believe that it was the right thing to do  
L4 for young people to be able to stay on their parent's plan -- 6.5 million young  
L5 people have insurance that didn't have it before. (Applause.) I think it was the right  
L6 thing to do to make sure that folks without [sic] preexisting conditions are able to  
L7 get health insurance. (Applause.) I think it is the right thing to do for seniors to get  
L8 discounts on their prescription drugs. I think it's the right thing to do for everybody  
L9 to be able to get preventive care, including women who **can** have some control  
L10 over their own health care decisions. (Applause.) We're not going backwards,  
L11 we're going forwards. That's a choice in this election. (Applause.) We did the  
L12 right thing to end "don't ask, don't tell." We're not going back, we're going  
L13 forward. (Applause.) We did the right thing helping out DREAM Act kids. We're  
L14 not going to go backwards, we're going forward. (Applause.)

P30

L1 Across the board, on these issues -- all of these things -- whether we're talking  
L2 about manufacturing, a fair tax code, a strong housing market, affordable college,  
L3 a K-12 system that works -- all these things stitch together. It has to do with how  
L4 do we create security for middle-class folks and how do we create ladders of  
L5 opportunity for everybody. That's how we've always grown this economy. That is  
L6 at the heart of what we believe -- that everybody who works hard has a shot; that  
L7 everybody gets a fair shot, everybody does their fair share, everybody plays by the  
L8 same set of rules -- a belief that we are in this together, that we are not all on our  
L9 own. (Applause.) That's the vision that we put forward in 2008. That is the vision  
L10 that we are fighting for in 2012. That's the choice in this election. And that's why  
L11 I'm running for President. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

P31

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Now, let me just close by saying this. We've got less than three  
L2 months -- less than three months. That goes by quick. And as you get older, as you  
L3 get to be like 51 -- (laughter) -- you **will** find out it goes by even quicker. And  
L4 during this time we **will** see the other side spend more money through these super

L5 PACs than we've ever seen -- ever. I mean, they are writing \$10 million checks,  
L6 just -- they are just cranking it out. If you live in a battleground state, you **cannot**  
L7 get away from their advertising.

P32

L1 Now, the reason they have to advertise like this is because they know their  
L2 economic theories don't sell. They know -- we didn't get amnesia. We remember  
L3 trying what they're selling, and it didn't work. (Laughter.) So they're basically just  
L4 going to repeat over and over again: The economy is not good and it's Obama's  
L5 fault. They **'ll** have variations on the theme, but it's the same thing over and over  
again. (Laughter.)

P33

L1 Now, that **may** be a plan to try to win an election, but it's not a plan to create jobs.  
L2 It's not a plan to strengthen the economy. It's not a plan to revive the middle class.  
L3 It's not a plan to make America stronger. It feeds into fear and the cynicism that so  
L4 many Americans feel about Washington, but it's not a plan for hope. It's not -- it  
L5 doesn't capture America at its best -- a big, bold, generous, optimistic America.  
(Applause.)

P34

L1 And so the good news is we've been outspent before, I've been counted out before,  
L2 but what has always given me faith, what's given me hope, what's given me  
L3 confidence is you. It's all of you. It's the fact that when the American people come  
L4 together, they **cannot** be stopped. (Applause.) When people power is harnessed,  
L5 when you guys are out there knocking on doors, making things happen, you **can't**  
L6 be stopped.

P35

L1 So I'm going to need your help. We've come too far to go back now. We got too  
L2 many good jobs to create. We got too many teachers we need to hire. We've got  
L3 too many schools we've got to rebuild. We've got too many students who need help  
L4 affording college. We've got too much homegrown energy that we've got to  
L5 generate. We've got more troops we've got to bring home. We've got more doors of  
L6 opportunity that we have to open. And that's what's at stake.

P36

L1 And so I am not just asking for your vote, I am asking for your work. I need your  
L2 help over the next three months. (Applause.) I don't need you just knocking on  
L3 doors; I need you to make phone calls, I need you to talk to your friends, I need  
L4 you to talk to your neighbors. I need you guys to load up and go over into Iowa, a  
L5 battleground state, and knock on some doors and make some phone calls over  
L6 there. (Applause.) We've got to get help. You've got to get involved in the election.  
L7 You've got to get on our website. You've got to make sure that you are signing up.

P37

L1 If you are as passionate and as energized and as determined as you were before,  
L2 then we **won't** lose. (Applause.) And it is true that I am older and a little grayer,  
L3 but I made a promise to you in 2008. I said I'd always tell you what I thought, I'd  
L4 always tell you where I stood. And most importantly, I told you I **would** always,  
L5 every single day, every minute of every day, think about you, and fight as hard as I  
L6 knew how for you. I have kept that promise. (Applause.)

P38

L1 I still believe in you. And if you still believe in me, and are willing to get out there  
L2 and work over the next 86 days, we **will not** just win this election, but we **will**  
L3 finish what we started and remind the world just why it is the United States of  
L4 America is the greatest nation on Earth. (Applause.)

God bless you, Chicago. (Applause.) God bless you. God bless the United States of America.

Text 8: Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Campaign Address at the University of Iowa  
Iowa City, Iowa  
September 7, 2012

Hello, Hawkeyes! (Applause.) Oh, it's good to be back at the University of Iowa. (Applause.)

P1

L1 A couple of people I want to mention -- first of all, your outstanding Congressman,  
L2 Dave Loebsack, is here. (Applause.) Your Mayor, Matt Hayek, is here. (Applause.)  
L3 And somebody who's been with me since we started our first road trip here in Iowa  
L4 back in 2007 -- your Attorney General, Tom Miller, is in the house. (Applause.)

P2

L1 And all of you are here. It is wonderful to be here. And some of you guys know  
L2 I've just come from Charlotte, North Carolina -- (applause) -- where we had an  
L3 outstanding convention. Folks down there **could not** have been more welcoming.

P3

L1 Michelle -- what **can** I say -- she was amazing. (Applause.) President Clinton  
L2 made the case the way only he **can**. (Applause.) Somebody sent around a tweet  
L3 saying, you need to appoint him secretary of explaining stuff. (Laughter.) So I  
L4 thought that was a pretty good idea. And then Joe Biden was all fired up.  
(Applause.) He was ready to go.

P4

L1 And then last night, I did my best to lay out the stakes in this election, which **could**  
**L2 not** be higher. Now, you've seen both sides make their argument, and you know  
L3 now what a fundamental choice we have ahead of us. I honestly believe this is the  
L4 clearest choice that we've had in my lifetime -- because it's not just a choice  
L5 between two candidates; it's not just a choice between two parties. It's a choice  
L6 between two fundamentally different visions of our future, where America goes.

P5

L1 Ours is a fight to build that basic bargain again that created the greatest, largest  
L2 middle class and the strongest economy the world has ever known -- the basic  
L3 bargain that says if you work hard it **will** pay off, that responsibility **will** be  
L4 rewarded, that everybody gets a fair shot, and everybody is doing their fair share,  
L5 and everybody plays by the same set of rules -- (applause) -- from Wall Street to  
L6 Main Street to Washington, D.C.

P6

L1 And restoring that basic bargain is why I got into public service in the first place. I  
L2 started my career working in the shadow of steel plants where folks had been laid  
L3 off as jobs were being shifted overseas. And for the last decade, we've seen too  
L4 many families here in Iowa and all across the country struggling with costs that  
L5 keep rising even when paychecks don't; people racking up more debt, using credit  
L6 cards, home equity loans just to make the mortgage, or pay tuition, or put gas in



L7 the car, or food on the table.

P7

L1 And all that collapsed in the Great Recession -- where millions of innocent  
L2 Americans lost their jobs and their homes and their life savings. And we have been  
L3 fighting to recover ever since from that devastation. Now, our friends at the  
L4 Republican Convention, they like to talk about everything they think is wrong with  
L5 America, but they didn't have much to say about what they'd do to make it right.  
L6 (Applause.) They want your vote, but they don't want you to know their plan  
L7 because they know you **wouldn't** buy it -- (applause) -- because we tried it.

P8

L1 All they've got to offer is the same prescription they've been offering for 30 years  
L2 -- tax cuts, tax cuts, tax cuts -- (applause) -- gut a few regulations here and there,  
L3 oh, and more tax cuts. (Laughter.) Tax cuts when times are good; tax cuts when  
L4 times are bad. Tax cuts to help you lose a few pounds. (Laughter.) Tax cuts to  
L5 improve your love life. (Laughter.) Whatever the issue, they've got one answer.

P9

L1 Now, Iowa, I've cut taxes for folks who need it -- (applause) -- middle-class  
L2 families, small business owners. (Applause.) When I was campaigning in Iowa  
L3 back in 2007-2008, I said we're going to cut taxes for middle-class families -- and  
L4 that's what we've done. The average family has seen their tax burden go down  
L5 \$3,600 since I've become President. I kept that promise. (Applause.) But I don't  
L6 know about you, I don't believe that another round of tax breaks for millionaires  
L7 **will** bring good jobs back to our shores or pay down our deficit. I sure don't think  
L8 firing teachers or kicking students off of financial aid is somehow going to grow  
L9 our economy or help us compete with scientists and engineers that are coming out  
L10 of China. (Applause.)

P10

L1 I don't know about you, but after all we've been through, after the crisis we went  
L2 through in 2007-2008, I don't think that rolling back regulations on Wall Street are  
L3 somehow going to help the small businesswoman in Iowa City expand, or the  
L4 laid-off construction worker in Des Moines keep his home. We have been there.  
L5 We have tried that. We are not going back. We are moving forward. And that's why  
L6 I'm running for a second term as President of the United States of America.  
(Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

P11

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Now, I **won't** pretend -- I told you last night, I **will not** pretend  
L2 that the path I'm offering is quick or easy. Anybody who says it is, they're not  
L3 telling you the truth. I've never said it was going to be quick and easy. What I said  
L4 was, we **can** move forward. We **can** make progress. We **can** make things better.  
L5 We **can** strengthen our middle class. We **can** rebuild a strong foundation for our  
economy.

P12

L1 As Bill Clinton reminded us on Wednesday night, it is going to take more than a  
L2 few years for us to solve challenges that have built up for decades. We know that.



L3 Today we learned that after losing 800,000 jobs a month when I took office,  
L4 businesses added jobs for the 30th month in a row. We've added more than 4.6  
L5 million jobs. (Applause.)

P13

L1 But we know that that's not good enough. We **can** do better. We need to create jobs  
L2 even faster. We need to fill the hole left by this recession. We need to come out of  
L3 this crisis stronger than when we went in. I don't want to just get back to where we  
L4 were in 2007. I want us to do even better. There is a lot more that we **can** do. And  
L5 when Congress gets back to town next week -- you don't need to call Dave  
L6 Loebsack, he's already on the program -- but you **can** tell some of these other  
L7 Lcongressmen to give middle-class families and small businesses the confidence  
L8 they need by telling them that their taxes **will not** go up next year. Everybody  
L9 agrees we **shouldn't** raise taxes on the middle class so let's get that done and let's  
L10 get it done now. What's the hold up? What's the wait? (Applause.)

P14

L1 And by the way, we **could** create a million additional new jobs if this Congress  
L2 **would** pass the jobs bill I sent them a year ago -- jobs for teachers and  
L3 construction workers and folks who have been out there looking for work for a  
L4 long time. (Applause.) We **can** do that, but I need your help, Iowa. I need your  
voices.

AUDIENCE: You got it! (Laughter and applause.)

P15

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Say, I want to make this point. At our convention, I wasn't just  
L2 asking for your vote. I was asking us to rally around an achievable set of goals for  
L3 our country -- goals in manufacturing and energy and education and national  
L4 security and defense. Real, concrete goals that **will** lead to new jobs and more  
L5 opportunity and rebuild this economy on a stronger foundation. That's what we  
L6 **can** do in the next four years. That's why I'm running for a second term.  
L7 (Applause.) Now, for those of you who missed it last night, let me just repeat what  
L8 I want us to do. First, I've got a plan to export more products around the world and  
L9 outsource fewer jobs around the world. (Applause.) So the good news is after a  
L10 decade of decline, America has created over half-a-million manufacturing jobs in  
L11 the last two and a half years. We reinvented the dying auto industry. It's now back  
L12 on top of the world. (Applause.) So we need to build on that progress, and you've  
got a choice.

P16

L1 You **can** go along with the other folks and give more tax breaks to companies that  
L2 are shipping jobs overseas, or we **can** start rewarding companies that are investing  
L3 in new plants and equipment and training new workers and creating new jobs right  
L4 here in the United States of America. (Applause.) We **can** help big factories and  
L5 small businesses double their exports. We **can** create a million new manufacturing  
L6 jobs in the next four years. You **can** make that happen. But I'm going to need your  
help.

P17

L1 Second, I've got a plan to control more of our own energy. After 30 years of  
L2 inaction, we raised fuel standards so that by the middle of the next decade your  
L3 cars and trucks **will** go twice as far on a gallon of gas. (Applause.) That **will** save

L4 you money and it **will** help our environment.

P18

L1 And we've doubled the use of renewable energy -- especially here in Iowa. We've  
L2 got thousands of Americans who have jobs today building wind turbines and  
L3 long-lasting batteries. (Applause.) And today, the United States of America is less  
L4 dependent on foreign oil than at any time in nearly two decades. Think about that.  
L5 (Applause.) So now you've got a choice -- between the other guys, who want to  
L6 reverse on that progress, or those of us who want to build on it. See, unlike my  
L7 opponent, I **will not** let oil companies write this country's energy plan. I'm not  
L8 going to let them collect another \$4 billion in corporate welfare from our taxpayers.  
(Applause.) We've got a better path.

P19

L1 I want to keep investing in wind and solar, clean coal technology, farmers and  
L2 scientists harnessing new biofuels to power our cars and trucks. I want to put  
L3 construction workers back to work building homes and factories that waste less  
L4 energy, and retrofit buildings so that they're using less energy. And we **can** develop  
L5 a hundred years' supply of natural gas that's right beneath our feet, and do it in an  
L6 environmentally sound way. And if you choose this path, we **can** cut our oil  
L7 imports by half in 2020 and support more than 600,000 new jobs in natural gas  
L8 alone. But I'm going to need you to keep moving forward on this energy agenda.  
L9 We **can't** go backwards. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: This is great, but you haven't even heard the third thing yet.  
(Laughter.)

P20

L1 Number three, I've got a plan to give more Americans like you the chance to gain  
L2 the skills they need to compete. Education was the gateway for opportunity for me.  
L3 It was the gateway for opportunity for Michelle. All of you who are students here  
L4 understand this is the ticket to a middle-class life. (Applause.) So what we've done  
L5 over the last three and a half years -- for the first time in a generation, nearly every  
L6 state has answered our call to raise standards for teaching and learning. Some of  
L7 the worst schools in the country have made real gains in math and reading.  
L8 Millions of students -- maybe some of you -- are paying less for college today  
L9 because we finally took on a system that was wasting billions of dollars on banks  
L10 and lenders. We cut out the middleman -- let's give those loans directly to  
L11 students. The money we saved allowed us to help millions of more students and  
L12 keep student loans and grants out there for folks. (Applause.) So now you've got  
L13 a choice. You **can** go with the other folks' plan --

AUDIENCE: No!

P21

L1 THE PRESIDENT: -- and gut education, or we **can** decide that here in the United  
L2 States of America, nobody **should** have their dreams set aside because of a  
L3 crowded classroom or a crumbling school. No family **should** have to set aside a  
L4 college acceptance letter because they don't have the money. No company **should**  
L5 have to look for workers in China because they **couldn't** find the right skills here  
L6 at home. That's not the future for America. We've got to have the best education

L7 system in the world. We know how to do it -- we've just got to stay with it. (Applause.)

P22

L1 So help me recruit 100,000 new math and science teachers in the next 10 years.  
L2 Let's improve early-childhood education. Let's give 2 million workers the chance  
L3 to get the skills they need at local community colleges. And let's help keep tuition  
L4 low at colleges and universities all across the country, because you guys deserve to  
L5 have the chance to succeed. That's what this election is about, and that's why I'm  
L6 running for a second term as President of the United States. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We love you, Obama!

P23

L1 THE PRESIDENT: I love you back. But let me tell you the fourth thing -- you'll  
L2 love me even more. (Laughter.) Fourth, my plan **would** reduce our deficit without  
L3 sticking it to the middle class. Independent analysis has shown that my plan **would**  
L4 cut deficits by \$4 trillion. And I've already worked with the Republicans in  
L5 Congress to cut a trillion dollars' worth of spending, because those of us who care  
L6 about what government **can** do to help people give them a ladder up. We've got to  
L7 make sure that the money is well spent, and some programs aren't working. We've  
L8 got to get rid of them. We've got to make sure that government is lean and efficient  
L9 and providing good service to the American people.

P24

L1 So I'm willing to do more, but I want to make sure that we also reform our tax  
L2 code so that it's simple and fair, and so that we ask the wealthiest households in  
L3 America to pay higher incomes -- or higher taxes on incomes over \$250,000. Now,  
L4 that means that if you make more than \$250,000, you're still getting a tax break on  
L5 the first \$250,000. It just means that after you make additional money, you're  
L6 paying the same rate we paid when Bill Clinton was President; the same rate we  
L7 had when our economy created nearly 23 million new jobs -- we had the biggest  
L8 surplus in history and we created a whole lot of millionaires to boot. That makes  
L9 sense for America. (Applause.)

P25

L1 Now, the other side -- since everything is cured by a tax cut, especially for wealthy  
L2 Americans -- so far they've balked. They've refused my offer to work with them on  
L3 this. But this week, President Clinton pointed out that the single biggest missing  
L4 from my opponent's plan is arithmetic. (Laughter.) It doesn't add up. Governor  
L5 Romney and his allies in Congress tell us that somehow we **can** lower our deficits  
L6 -- they say that the deficit is the most important thing. They say this is vital for our  
L7 future. But when you ask them, all right, what's your plan -- they say, well, we're  
L8 first going to start by taking \$5 trillion out of the economy and giving it to folks  
L9 like me and Mr. Romney -- taking it out of Treasury, rather -- and giving it to me  
L10 and Mr. Romney, and then, somehow, it's all going to create prosperity for the rest  
of you.

P26

L1 Well, you do the math. If you want to lower the deficit, but we're spending \$5  
L2 trillion on tax cuts for folks who don't need it and weren't even asking for it, how  
L3 is that going to work? The fact is the numbers in Mr. Romney's plan don't add up  
L4 to lower deficits. And by the way, they don't add up to more jobs, either -- because

L5 the economists have actually said that my opponent's plan **would** make the  
L6 recovery slower, not faster. So I'm not going along with that plan. I refuse to ask  
L7 middle-class families to give up their deductions for owning a home or raising  
L8 their kids just to pay for another millionaire's tax cut. (Applause.) I refuse to ask  
L9 students to pay more for college, or kick children out of Head Start programs, or  
L10 eliminate health insurance for millions of Americans who are poor or elderly or  
L11 disabled, just so those with the most **can** pay less. (Applause.)

P27

L1 And I **will** never turn Medicare into a voucher system -- because no American  
L2 **should** have to spend their golden years, after years of labor, at the mercy of  
L3 insurance companies. They **should** retire with the care and the dignity that they  
L4 have earned. (Applause.) We **can** strengthen and reform Medicare for the long  
L5 haul, but we **ll** do it by reducing the cost of health care, not by just dumping the  
L6 costs on seniors, asking them to pay thousands of dollars more. And we're going to  
L7 keep the promise of Social Security by taking the responsible steps to strengthen it,  
L8 not by turning it over to Wall Street. (Applause.)

P28

L1 Now, let me say rebuilding this economy is essential. That's priority number-one.  
L2 But our prosperity at home is linked to policies abroad. So four years ago I  
L3 promised we **d** end the war in Iraq -- we did. (Applause.) I said we **d** wind down  
L4 the war in Afghanistan -- we are. (Applause.) And as a new tower rises above the  
L5 New York skyline, al Qaeda is on the path to defeat, and bin Laden is dead.  
(Applause.)

P29

L1 So long as I'm Commander-in-Chief, we **will** sustain the strongest military the  
L2 world has ever known. And when our troops take off their uniform, we **will** serve  
L3 them as well as they've served us -- because no American who's fought for us  
L4 **should** have to fight for a job or a roof over their heads or the care that they've  
L5 earned when they come home. (Applause.) So just like there's a choice on domestic  
L6 policy, there's a choice when it comes to foreign affairs. My opponent said it was  
"tragic" to end the war in Iraq.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: Don't boo -- vote. (Applause.)

P30

L1 He **won't** tell us how he **ll** end the war in Afghanistan. And I have, and I **will**. And  
L2 while my opponent **would** spend more money on military programs that the Joint  
L3 Chiefs say we don't need, **won't** make us safer, don't want, I'm going to use that  
L4 money that we're no longer spending on war to pay down our debt and to put more  
L5 people back to work rebuilding roads and bridges and schools and runways.  
L6 (Applause.) Because after a decade of war, it's time to do some nation-building  
L7 here at home, Iowa. That's what we need to focus on. (Applause.)

P31

L1 This is the choice we now face. This is what the election comes down to. I said  
L2 yesterday, over and over again we've been told by our opponents that bigger tax  
L3 cuts and fewer regulations are the only way to go -- that since government **can't**  
L4 do everything, it **should** do almost nothing. If you **can't** afford health insurance,

L5 their theory is, I hope you don't get sick. If companies are releasing toxic pollution  
L6 into the air, well, that's just the price of progress. That's their theory. If you **can't**  
L7 afford to start a business or go to college, well, take my opponent's advice and  
L8 "borrow money from your parents." (Laughter.) That's his theory. You know what,  
L9 that's not who we are. That's not what this country is about.

P32

L1 When I look at all these young people here, I'm reminded of what is essential  
L2 about this country. As Americans, we insist on personal responsibility. We insist on  
L3 individual initiative. Everybody here knows we're not entitled to success. We have  
L4 to earn it. And we honor entrepreneurs and businesspeople, strivers, the dreamers,  
L5 the risk-takers who are the driving force behind our free enterprise system. And we  
L6 believe that the free enterprise system is the greatest engine of growth and  
L7 prosperity that the world has ever known. But we also believe that this country  
L8 only works when we accept certain obligations to one another and to future  
L9 generations. We understand that as citizens, America is not just about what **can** be  
L10 done for us, it's about what **can** be done by us, together, as one nation and as one  
people. (Applause.)

P32

L1 And nobody understands that better than the people of Iowa, because the election  
L2 four years ago wasn't about me. It was about you. The change that started here in  
L3 Iowa, the change that started here in Iowa City -- you were the change. (Applause.)  
L4 You're the reason that there's some little girl out there with a heart disorder who is  
L5 now going to get surgery that she needs because an insurance company **can't** limit  
L6 her coverage. You did that. (Applause.)

P33

L1 You're the reason that students right here at the University of Iowa are going to be  
L2 able to graduate college with the security of knowing that you **can** stay on your  
L3 parent's health insurance plan. You did that. (Applause.) You're the reason there's a  
L4 young teacher in Boone, who has a little more time to pay back her college loans  
L5 so that she **can** start her life doing what she loves without being buried by debt.  
L6 You made that possible. (Applause.) You're the reason a young immigrant, who  
L7 grew up here and went to school here and pledged allegiance to our flag, **will** no  
L8 longer be deported from the only country she's ever called home. (Applause.)

P34

L1 You're the reason why we ended "don't ask, don't tell." (Applause.) You're the  
L2 reasons why thousands of families have been willing -- have been able to say to  
L3 their loved ones who served us so bravely, "Welcome home." (Applause.) You're  
L4 the reason. You're the reason. And so if you turn back now, if you buy into the  
L5 cynicism that you hear all the time that says somehow the change we fought isn't  
L6 possible, well then, of course change **won't** happen. If you stop, change **won't**  
L7 happen. You are what brings it about. If you give up on the idea that your voice  
L8 makes a difference, then other voices fill the void -- the special interests, the  
L9 lobbyists, the folks who write \$10 million checks to run all those negative ads, the  
L10 people who are trying to make it harder for you to vote, the politicians who want  
L11 to decide who you **can** marry, or want to control health care choices that women  
L12 **should** be making for themselves -- you'll leave it up to them to make decisions.  
(Applause.)

P35

L1 Only you **can** make sure that doesn't happen. When you see that sign that says,  
L2 "Forward," we don't go forward without you. Only you have that power, and I'm  
L3 depending on you to use that power. I'm asking you to make sure you don't give up  
L4 that power. Every -- young people here, I need you to register to vote. If you're not  
L5 registered, go on GottaRegister.com -- that's gotta -- sorry, English teachers, this is  
L6 not "got to" -- it's "gotta" -- GottaRegister.com. If you need to know how to vote,  
L7 including early vote here in Iowa, go to GottaVote.com. (Applause.) I'm asking  
L8 you not only to register and vote. I need you to go after your friends, talk to your  
L9 parents, talk to your cousins, aunts, uncles, cousins, whoever you got. Iowa, I need  
L10 you to make some phone calls with me. I need you to knock on some doors with  
L11 me. I need you to tell your friends and your neighbors and your coworkers what's  
L12 at stake in this election.

P36

L1 And if you do, we **will** finish what we started. (Applause.) If you use the power  
L2 that you have, we **will** create more good jobs in America. We'**ll** generate more  
L3 homegrown energy in America. We'**ll** hire more good teachers in America. And we  
L4 **will** send more young people to college right here in America. (Applause.) We'**ll**  
L5 bring more troops home, and we'**ll** take care of more of our veterans. And we'**ll**  
L6 open up more doors of opportunity to every American who's willing to work hard  
L7 to walk through them. That's what we need. We **will** win Johnson County. We **will**  
L8 win Iowa. We **will** finish what we started in 2008, and we'**ll** remind the world why  
L9 the United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth. (Applause.)

God bless you. Let's get to work. Let's move forward. (Applause.)



Text 9: Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Address to the AFL-CIO Convention  
Columbus, Ohio  
September 17, 2012

P1

Hello, AFL-CIO! (Applause.) It is good to be back in Ohio! Good to see my brothers and sisters in labor. (Applause.)

P2

L1 I want to start off by saying you've got an outstanding leader in Tim. Give him a  
L2 big round of applause. Love what he's doing. (Applause.) But you are also -- I was  
L3 going to say lucky, but you're also wise to have somebody who fights on your  
L4 behalf every single day in the halls of Capitol Hill, and that is your outstanding  
Senator, Sherrod Brown. (Applause.)

P3

L1 Now, you guys have a seat, have a seat, have a seat. (Applause.) I am not going to  
L2 be long, but I **ll** admit we didn't necessarily know what you guys were up to until  
L3 kind of the last minute. And I said, well, I **can't** leave Ohio without seeing my  
L4 friends at the AFL-CIO. (Applause.)

P4

L1 And it's pretty -- it's timely to be able to see you because I was in Cincinnati today  
L2 -- (applause) -- came up to Columbus this afternoon, and in both places we  
L3 announced the work that we've done, in conjunction with Sherrod, to make sure  
L4 that we're filing a new WTO case challenging China's illegal trade and subsidies in  
L5 autos and auto parts. (Applause.)

P5

L1 My attitude is when other countries don't play by the rules we're going to stand up  
L2 to them. (Applause.) Which is why we've actually filed twice as many cases as the  
L3 previous administration, won every case that has been decided. So we were able to  
L4 stop some of these cheap tire imports that were coming into this country unfairly,  
L5 make sure that a thousand jobs right here in the United States were maintained. It's  
L6 the reason that we are going to keep on pressing to make sure that they are playing  
L7 by the rules -- because my attitude is the United States of America has the best  
L8 workers on Earth; we've got the best businesses on Earth; and if they are  
L9 competing fairly we **will** win every single time. That's what I believe. (Applause.)

P6

L1 You **may** have noticed the guy who's running against me --

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: Don't boo -- vote. (Applause.) Vote. (Applause.)

P7

L1 He has been running around, talking about how he's going to get tough with China.  
L2 Now, this is a guy who started off investing in companies that are called  
L3 "pioneers" in the business of outsourcing jobs to countries like China. So I don't  
L4 think that we **can** have a lot of confidence if seven weeks before an election, he  
L5 suddenly says he wants to get tough on China, when his entire history has been  
L6 feeling pretty comfortable with seeing jobs shipped to China. In fact, on that tire  
L7 case, he complained that I was being protectionist.

P8

L1 And so, now, all of a sudden he is going to go around trying to claim the mantle of  
L2 fighting for the American working man and woman. This gives you some sense of  
L3 what is at stake in this election. And we've got two fundamentally different visions  
L4 about how we move this country forward.

P9

L1 They are peddling the same top-down economics that got us into this mess in the  
L2 first place. You ask them what's your ideas to build this economy, they'**ll** tell you,  
L3 well, we've got tax cuts in the morning and tax cuts at night -- (laughter) -- tax cuts  
L4 when there's peace and tax cuts when there's war. In between, we'**ll** roll back some  
L5 regulations and try to bust some unions, and then we'**ll** go back to some more tax  
L6 cuts. That's their entire agenda.

P10

L1 Well, we've got a different vision. We want to restore that basic bargain in America  
L2 that says if you work hard, you **can** make it -- (applause) -- that says if you're  
L3 acting responsibly and looking after your family, and willing to put in the effort,  
L4 you **can** afford a home that you **can** call your own, you have a job that pays the  
L5 bills, that you **won't** have to worry about going bankrupt if you get sick, that you'**ll**  
L6 be able to retire with some dignity and some respect. (Applause.) And you'**ll** be  
L7 able to save up enough to help your kids do even better than you did.

P11

L1 That's what the union movement's been about. That's what America has been about.  
L2 (Applause.) That's what built the middle class. That's what built our economy.  
L3 That's what we're fighting for. And we're not going backwards. We're going  
L4 forward. That's what this election is about. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

P12

L1 THE PRESIDENT: And the nice thing is when you make this choice, you've got a  
L2 track record to look at. When I came into office, the first thing I did was overturn  
L3 bans on project labor agreements on federal -- in federally funded construction --  
L4 (applause) -- expanded Davis Bacon coverage in the Recovery Act, appointed  
L5 folks to the NLRB who actually recognize that their jobs is to be fair and decent  
L6 brokers -- (applause) -- and to understand that you **should** be thinking a little bit  
L7 about labor if you're a member of the NLRB.

P13

L1 We made fair pay protections the law of the land -- because my attitude is if a  
L2 woman is in there working just as hard on that assembly line, or on that



L3 construction site, she **should** get paid just like a man does. (Applause.) We  
L4 committed to doubling our nation's exports so we're not just sending jobs overseas,  
L5 we **should** be sending products overseas, keeping those jobs right here in the  
L6 United States of America. (Applause.)

P14

L1 When some folks said let's let Detroit go bankrupt, I said we've got a million jobs  
L2 on the line, a whole bunch of them right here in Ohio. And so we placed our bet on  
L3 American workers, and now the American auto industry has come roaring back,  
L4 hiring 250,000 folks back on the job all throughout the Midwest. (Applause.)

P15

L1 We're making investments in entire new industries -- in clean energy, folks making  
L2 wind turbines, building long-lasting batteries. We are investing in our community  
L3 colleges to make sure that folks are trained for the jobs of the future. That's the  
L4 vision that we've got. We believe that America grows best when everybody has got  
L5 a fair shot, and everybody is doing their fair share, and everybody is playing by the  
L6 same rules from Main Street to Wall Street to Washington, D.C. (Applause.)

P16

L1 That's what we're fighting for. That's why I'm running for a second term. That's  
L2 why I intend to win Ohio. That's why I intend to win this election. I'm going to  
L3 need your help. I hope you are ready because I'm just getting started. And if we  
L4 win Ohio, we win this election. If we win this election, we'**ll** finish what we  
L5 started, and we **will** work on behalf of the working men and women of this country,  
L6 and we'**ll** remind the world by the United States of America is the greatest nation on  
Earth.

Let's get to work. Seven more weeks. God bless you. God bless America. (Applause.)

Text 10: Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Campaign Remarks at the 40/40 Club  
New York, New York  
September 18, 2012

P1

Thank you. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you. Well, it is wonderful to see all of you. I'm so grateful for all your support.

P2

L1 Let me just begin by saying to Jay and Bey, thank you so much for your friendship.  
L2 We are so grateful. Michelle and Malia and Sasha are mad at me because they are  
L3 not here. (Laughter.) That doesn't usually happen. Usually they're like, we're glad  
L4 you're going -- we don't need to go. But every time they get a chance to see these  
L5 two they are thrilled, partly because they are just both so generous, particularly to  
L6 my kids. And Malia and Sasha just love both of them.

P3

L1 Beyoncé **couldn't** be a better role model for our daughters because she carries  
L2 herself with such class and poise -- (applause) -- and has so much talent. And  
L3 Jay-Z now knows what my life is like. (Laughter.) We both have daughters, and  
L4 our wives are more popular than we are. (Laughter and applause.) So we've got a  
L5 little bond there. (Laughter.) It's hard, but it's okay. It's okay. (Laughter.)

P4

L1 Forty-nine days until this election. We just came out of convention season, and we  
L2 had two conventions -- one in Tampa, and one in Charlotte. And I don't know that  
L3 everybody here spent all their time watching conventions. I'm sure that many of  
L4 you had better things to do. But you saw two very stark visions, different visions  
L5 about where we need to take this country.

P5

L1 I think everybody recognizes that America has all the ingredients we need for  
L2 success. We've got the best workers in the world. We've got the best businesses in  
L3 the world. We've got the most entrepreneurial culture in the world. We've got the  
L4 best universities and scientists and researchers. We've got this incredible diversity  
L5 of talent and innovation and ingenuity, which makes us the envy of the world.  
L6 People come here from every corner of the globe because of that central idea at the  
L7 heart of America, which says no matter what you look like, no matter where you  
L8 come from, no matter what your last name is, no matter who you love, here in  
L9 America you **can** make it if you work hard, if you try. (Applause.) All right, that's  
L10 what inspires so many people, not just in this country but around the world.

P6

L1 But what we also recognize is that that basic bargain has been eroding over the  
L2 course of a decade. There are a lot of people who have been out there working  
L3 really hard, and yet their paychecks haven't kept up with the costs of everything  
L4 from gas to groceries to sending a kid to college. There are a lot of folks out there  
L5 who take responsibility for their lives and their families and their communities and

L6 their neighborhoods, and yet it seems as if security is always a little bit out of reach.

P7

L1 We've seen an economy over the last decade where jobs were being shipped  
L2 overseas; an economy that was loaded up with debt; an economy where there was  
L3 a lot of irresponsibility on the part of folks who **should** have known better. And it  
L4 all culminated in the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression.

P8

L1 And it was in that context that I was sworn into office almost four years ago, at a  
L2 time when the banking system was melting down, at a time when -- the month I  
L3 was sworn in, we lost 800,000 jobs, the worst crisis since the Great Depression.  
L4 And we have worked tirelessly over the last four years to start turning that around,  
L5 and we have made progress. So the last 30 months, we've seen the private sector  
L6 create jobs every single month -- 4.5 million jobs altogether. We've seen  
L7 manufacturing start coming back. (Applause.) An auto industry that was on the  
L8 brink of liquidation has come roaring back, so that now GM is once again on the  
L9 top of the world and Chrysler is selling more cars than they've seen in a very, very  
L10 long time. (Applause.) We've been able to make sure that small businesses  
L11 survived and got help through the Small Business Administration.

P9

L1 But what we tried to do was not just get back to where we were before the crisis.  
L2 We tried to start addressing some of those issues that had been lingering for too  
L3 long. That's what health care -- in a country like ours, we **shouldn't** have millions L4  
of people who are at risk of going bankrupt just because somebody in their family L5  
got sick. And that's why we passed a health care reform law that **will** provide  
L6 millions of families the kind of security they need and also make sure that we're  
L7 starting to bring down health care costs, so that we **can** afford it.

P10

L1 That's the reason why we made sure that we changed our student loan system and  
L2 our Pell Grant system, so that young people have a chance to go to college even if  
L3 they weren't born rich, that we understand if we make an investment in young  
L4 people and they succeed, then all of us are going to be better off. (Applause.)

P11

L1 It's the reason why we've invested in alternative energy, to make sure that instead  
L2 of just relying on foreign oil, we're starting to build windmills and solar panels and  
L3 putting people back to work here all across the country -- and in the process also  
L4 helping our national security and doing something about climate change. It's the  
L5 reason why we ended a policy like "don't ask, don't tell" that somehow prevented  
L6 outstanding people in our services to serve the country they love just because of  
L7 who they love. It's the reason that we ended the war in Iraq and we're bringing the  
L8 war in Afghanistan to a close. (Applause.)

P12

L1 So we've made a lot of progress, but we've got so much more work to do. And the L2  
other side, they've got a different vision. You saw it at their convention. And their  
L3 basic theory is that if you give tax cuts to folks at the very top, people like us who  
L4 have been incredibly blessed and fortunate and, frankly, don't need a tax cut, that  
L5 somehow the country is going to be better off. And the good thing about so many

L6 of us here -- and I know, I speak for Jay and Bey -- is we remember what it's like  
L7 not having anything, and we know people who were just as talented as us that  
L8 didn't get the same break, the same chance. We remember some of our parents or  
L9 grandparents who came here as immigrants and got a little bit of help along the  
L10 way to go to that school or be able to start that first business. We understand that  
L11 -- as Michelle said as well as anybody **could** -- those of us who have been blessed  
L12 with success and been able to walk through those doors of opportunity, we don't  
L13 slam the door behind us. We prop it open. We make it easier for those who follow  
to succeed as well.

P13

L1 And by doing that, our success is that much better. It's that much more stable and  
L2 more secure, because when the whole country does well, everybody does well.  
L3 When the middle class does well, and when teachers and firefighters and  
L4 construction workers and receptionists and waiters and the folks who are cleaning  
L5 up these big office buildings in Manhattan, if they're getting a decent wage and  
L6 they're able to provide their kids a good education, the whole economy booms.  
L7 That's been our history. That's who we are. And that's what's at stake in this  
L8 election. Now, there are other things that are at stake -- who gets seated on the  
L9 Supreme Court? Are we going to allow ourselves to go back to a time when  
L10 politicians in Washington are telling women how to make health care decisions?  
L11 Michelle tells me you guys are actually quite capable of making those decisions by  
yourself. (Applause.)

P14

L1 When it comes to issues of war and peace, my opponent says that me ending the  
L2 war in Iraq was tragic. He hasn't been able to explain what his plan **would** be in  
L3 terms of dealing with a situation like Afghanistan. And so, how we're perceived in  
L4 the world and how we're able to project our power not just through our  
L5 extraordinary military and what our outstanding troops do, but also through our  
L6 diplomacy and our culture and our ideals and our values -- the message that we're  
L7 sending around the world, that is also at stake in this election. Whether or not we  
L8 continue to stay focused on ensuring that college is affordable, and making sure  
L9 that our air is clean and our water is clean, the air and water that our kids play in  
L10 and breathe -- that's at stake in this election.

P15

L1 So the stakes **could not** be higher. And I think most of you already understand that  
L2 Otherwise you **wouldn't** be here tonight. And then, so the question becomes how  
L3 much are we willing to fight for this in the last seven weeks? I think that there's a  
L4 danger sometimes among Democrats, progressives, supporters of mine, to think  
L5 we **must** be right on the issues so I'm sure the election **will** be fine. But that's not  
L6 how elections work. Elections work because you put in the effort and the sweat  
L7 and the passion and the energy to get out there and deliver a message to the  
American people.

P16

L1 Because the American people are busy and they're focused on their kids and  
L2 they're focused on getting to work or finding a job. And all this politics stuff  
L3 sometimes seems very distant to them. And they're being inundated by more  
L4 negative ads from the other side than we've ever seen in our history. We've got  
L5 people writing \$10 million checks just to see if they can beat me. And you see it,

L6 anybody who has been turning on the television -- you don't see it in New York,  
L7 because this isn't a swing state. (Laughter.) But you try going to Ohio or Virginia  
L8 right now and ad after ad is distorting my record or trying to persuade people as to  
L9 why we need to change course and replace the occupant of the White House.

P17

L1 So we **can't** be complacent. If all of you genuinely believe that the decisions that  
L2 I've made and the vision that I'm projecting about the kind of America we want not  
L3 just for ourselves, but for our kids and our grandkids -- if you genuinely believe  
L4 that, we're going to have to work for it. The other side is full of passion and they  
L5 are working very hard to beat us. And in these next seven weeks we're going to  
L6 have to do everything that we **can**. And for some of you that means financial  
L7 support; for others it **may** mean you're out there knocking on some doors or  
L8 making some phone calls, or using your influence to persuade other people to get  
involved.

P18

L1 But understand that this **will** not come easy, and that we're going to have to fight  
L2 for this thing every step of the way. And that's always been the case. It's been  
L3 interesting over the last four years, sometimes people ask me, how do you handle  
L4 all the criticism and the media and the scrutiny and the pressure and this and that  
L5 and the other. And I tell them there are two things that allow me to not just survive  
L6 this but to thrive and enjoy it. The first is the American people. Because when you  
L7 travel around the country, it turns out that they're so much better than the kind of  
L8 politics we see in Washington.

P19

L1 Most people are good and they're decent and they're trying to do the right thing.  
L2 And they **may not** follow every issue and know exactly what is going on, but their  
L3 basic instinct is let's give everybody a fair shot and let's make sure everybody does  
L4 their fair share, and let's make sure everybody is playing by the same set of rules.  
L5 And let's open up opportunity for everybody. That's -- you go to a small town in  
L7 Iowa, you go to a big city in California -- that decency and goodness of the  
L8 American people shines through. And that encourages me. That makes me feel good.

P20

L1 Some of you saw -- I was just on Letterman before I came here, and some of you  
L2 saw that he showed that picture of that pizza owner who picked me up -- (laughter)  
L3 -- and lifted me up and kind of straightened out my back -- (laughter) -- well, this  
L4 guy, he started his own pizza company and is a Republican, but is somebody who  
L5 thought that I shared with him a passion for doing the right thing. And he started  
L6 his own blood drive in the community that is now the largest blood drive in  
L7 Florida, and is passionate about helping folks who haven't had a chance, and wants  
L8 to make sure that they succeed.

P21

L1 And so when I hear people trying to label folks as, well, these are Republicans, or  
L2 these are Democrats, or these are people who don't understand the country -- when  
L3 I hear those divisions, I say, well, you're not paying attention to what's going on in  
L4 the country. There's a lot of good out there.

P22

L1 So that keeps me energized and inspired. And the second thing is an awareness of  
L2 history and an understanding that change in this country has never been easy. It's  
L3 never been easy. Women getting the right to vote took decades of work. The civil  
L4 rights movement -- we had a century of work. The union movement, people  
L5 having an opportunity to get a minimum wage -- people were beaten and died for  
that.

P23

L1 So I'm always reminded and humbled by the fact that what we do at any given  
L2 moment is just part of this bigger pattern, part of God's plan, part of a process. And  
L3 our job is just to make sure that we are pushing in the right direction -- pushing the  
L4 wheel of history in the right direction. And hopefully, then our kids **will** be  
L5 equipped and have the privilege to keep pushing in the right direction in the future.

P24

L1 So I don't want people to be complacent, but I also don't want people to be  
L2 discouraged. We're on the brink of an election, but more importantly, we're on the  
L3 brink of moving America in a direction in which we're going to be more just, more  
L4 fair, the economy is going to grow in a way that includes everybody -- an America  
L5 that's respected around the world because we are putting forward our best values  
L6 and our best ideals. And you're a part of that. Being here tonight, you're a part of  
L7 that. You're a part of us trying to make some more history. And we've made history  
L8 in the past; we're going to make some more history over the next seven weeks as  
L9 long as you guys are ready to keep going with me. All right? (Applause.)

So thank you so much, everybody. God bless you. Appreciate you. (Applause.) Bey, Jay,  
thank you.

Text 11: Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Campaign Stop in Virginia  
Woodbridge, Virginia  
September 21, 2012

P1

L1 Hello, Virginia! (Applause.) Well, it is great to be here in Pfitzner Stadium, home  
L2 of the Potomac Nationals. I want to congratulate the Washington Nationals for  
L3 bringing playoff baseball to D.C. (Applause.) You guys are looking good. I am  
L4 looking forward to a White Sox Nationals World Series. (Applause.) It's going to  
L5 happen. White Sox are still in first place. But I got to admit, you guys are looking  
L6 a little better right now. You guys are looking very good.

P2

L1 A couple of people I want to acknowledge. I want to thank, first of all, your former  
L2 outstanding governor and your current outstanding Senator, Mark Warner, for his  
L3 leadership. (Applause.) Give him a big round of applause. (Applause.) I also want  
L4 to thank your Congressman, Gerry Connolly, for being here with us today.  
(Applause.)

P3

L1 And I want to thank all of you for being here, although I got to admit on a day like  
L2 today, this is not a bad place to be, out on the ballpark. (Laughter and applause.)  
L3 Got a nice little breeze going. It feels good.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We love you!

P5

L1 THE PRESIDENT: I love you back. (Applause.) I do. (Applause.) Now, unless  
L2 your cable has been broken for a while, you **may** be aware there's an election  
L3 going on. (Laughter.) I was told a story by my campaign manager. He was meeting  
L4 with some folks, and there was a young couple there with a young son, maybe  
L5 three or four years old, and the parents were really proud that he knew who I was.  
L6 And they explained to my campaign manager -- they said, listen, he loves Barack  
L7 Obama. And they turned to the little boy and they said, what does Barack Obama  
L8 do? And the little boy says, Barack Obama approves this message. (Laughter.) So  
L9 you know it's election season. That's what I do. I approve this message. (Laughter.)  
L10 And that's because in the coming weeks, you've got a very big choice to make.  
L11 This is not a choice between two candidates or two parties. This is a choice  
L12 between two different paths for America, two fundamentally different visions of  
our future.

My opponents are big believers in top-down economics.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

P6

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Don't boo, vote! (Applause.) Mr. Romney thinks that if we just  
L2 spend another \$5 trillion dollars on tax cuts that favor the wealthiest 2 percent of



L3 Americans, all our problems are going to be solved. Jobs and prosperity **will** rain  
L4 down from the sky. Deficits **will** magically disappear. We **will** all live happily ever  
L5 after. The end.

P7

L1 There's only one problem. We tried that scheme during the last decade. It didn't  
L2 work. Top-down economics don't work. This country doesn't succeed when only  
L3 the rich are getting richer. We succeed when folks at the top are doing well, but  
L4 also when the middle class is doing well, and folks who are fighting to get into the  
L5 middle are doing well; when more people have a chance to get ahead and live up  
L6 to their God-given potential.

P8

L1 I don't believe we **can** get very far with leaders who write off half the nation as a  
L2 bunch of victims -- (applause) -- who think that they're not interested in taking  
L3 responsibility for their own lives. I don't see a lot of victims in this crowd today.  
L4 (Applause.) I see hard-working Virginians. (Applause.)

P9

L1 Some of you **may** be students trying to work your way through college. (Applause.)  
L2 Some of you **may** be single moms like my mom -- (applause) -- putting in  
L3 overtime to see if you **can** provide a better life for your kids. Some of you **may** be  
L4 senior citizens who have been saving your whole life for your retirement. Some of  
L5 you **may** be veterans who have served this country bravely -- (applause) -- soldiers  
L6 who defend our freedom today. (Applause.)

P10

L1 Nobody believes that anyone is entitled to success in this country. We don't believe  
L2 that government **should** be helping people who refuse to help themselves. But we  
L3 do believe in something called opportunity. (Applause.) We believe in a country  
L4 where hard work pays off; where responsibility is rewarded; where everyone gets  
L5 a fair shot, and everybody is doing their fair share, and everybody plays by the  
L6 same rules. That's the country we believe in. That's what I believe in. That's why  
L7 I'm running for a second term as President of the United States. (Applause.)

P11

L1 Now, I told you before and I **will** tell you again, the path I'm offering is not  
L2 necessarily going to be quick or easy, because the truth is it's going to take more  
L3 than a few years to solve challenges that built up over decades. But I **can** tell you  
L4 this, Virginia, this is America. Our problems **can** be solved and our challenges **can**  
L5 be met. We've got the best workers in the world. We've got the best businesspeople  
L6 and entrepreneurs in the world. We've got the best scientists and researchers in the  
L7 world. We've got the best colleges and universities in the world. (Applause.)  
L8 There's not a country on Earth that **wouldn't** trade places with the United States of  
America.

P12

L1 So the path I'm offering may be harder, but it leads to a better place. I'm offering a  
L2 practical, five-point plan to create jobs, and grow the middle-class, and rebuild the  
L3 economy on a stronger foundation. So let me break it down in case you guys  
L4 missed the convention -- (applause) -- just in case. Or just in case you only saw  
L5 Michelle. (Laughter and applause.)



P13

L1 Number one, I want to export more products and outsource fewer jobs. (Applause.)  
L2 When my opponent said we **should** "let Detroit go bankrupt," we came together to  
L3 reinvent a dying auto industry that's back on top of the world. (Applause.) In the  
L4 last two and a half years, we've created more than half a million new  
L5 manufacturing jobs in this country. (Applause.) So now you have a choice. We **can**  
L6 build on that progress, or we **can** do what the other folks want to do and give more  
L7 tax breaks to companies that ship jobs overseas.

AUDIENCE: No!

P14

L1 THE PRESIDENT: We **can** continue to see outsourcing, or we **can** do some  
L2 insourcing and reward companies that open new plants and train new workers and  
L3 create new jobs right here in the United States of America. (Applause.) I want to  
L4 help big factories and small businesses double their exports. We **can** create a  
L5 million new manufacturing jobs in the next four years. We **can** make that happen.  
L6 But I'm going to need your help.

P15

L1 Number two, I want us to control more of our own energy. After 30 years of  
L2 inaction, we raised fuel standards so that by the middle of the next decade, your  
L3 cars and trucks **will** go twice as far on a gallon of gas. (Applause.) We've doubled  
L4 the amount of renewable energy we generate from sources like wind and solar.  
L5 Thousands of Americans have jobs today building wind turbines and long-lasting  
L6 batteries. Today, the United States of America is less dependent on foreign oil than  
L7 at any time in nearly two decades. (Applause.) So now you've got a choice. You  
L8 **can** do what Mr. Romney wants to do and reverse all that progress --

AUDIENCE: No!

P16

L1 THE PRESIDENT: -- or we **can** build on it. I'm not going to let oil companies  
L2 write this country's energy plan. I don't want them to keep collecting another \$4  
L3 billion in corporate welfare from our taxpayers. (Applause.)

P17

L1 We've got a better plan where we keep investing in wind and solar and clean coal  
L2 technology, and farmers and scientists harness new biofuels to power our cars and  
L3 our trucks; where we're putting more construction workers back to work  
L4 retrofitting homes and factories so they waste less energy. We **can** develop nearly  
L5 a 100-year supply of natural gas that's right beneath our feet. And my plan **would**  
L6 cut our oil imports in half by 2020 and support more than 600,000 new jobs in  
L7 natural gas alone. (Applause.) But I'm going to need your help to make it happen.

P18

L1 Number three, I want to give more Americans the chance to learn the skills they  
L2 need to compete. Governor Warner -- Senator Warner said it well: We've got to  
L3 invest in our workforce. And education was the gateway of opportunity for me; it  
L4 was the gateway of opportunity for Michelle. It's the gateway of opportunity for  
L5 many of you. It's the gateway to a middle-class life. (Applause.) And we've already  
L6 been working on this, so millions of students are right now paying less for college  
L7 because we took on a system that was wasting billions of dollars in taxpayer

L8 money to banks and lenders. We said, let's give it directly to students. (Applause.)

P19

L1 But now you've got a choice. The other side, they want to gut education to pay for  
L2 more tax breaks for the wealthy. I think that's the wrong way to go. I think we **can**  
L3 **L3** decide that in the United States of America, no child **should** have her dream  
L4 deferred because of a overcrowded classroom. No family **should** have to set aside  
L5 a college acceptance letter because they didn't have the money. (Applause.) No  
L6 company **should** have to look for workers in China because they **couldn't** find  
L7 ones with the right skills right here in Virginia. (Applause.)

P20

L1 So I'm asking you to help me recruit 100,000 math and science teachers in the next  
L2 10 years, and improve early childhood education. (Applause.) Let's give 2 million  
L3 workers the chance to learn skills at community colleges for jobs that are hiring  
L4 right now. (Applause.) And let's work with colleges and universities to cut the  
L5 growth of tuition costs, because we don't want our young people loaded up with  
L6 debt. We want them to be able to get the education they need to compete in the  
L7 21st century. That's the path we have to choose together. That's what we're fighting  
for. (Applause.)

P21

L1 Fourth, we've got to reduce our deficit. And I put forward a plan that independent  
L2 experts have looked at the numbers; it cuts the deficit by \$4 trillion -- without  
L3 sticking it to the middle class. Now, I've already worked with Republicans to cut a  
L4 trillion dollars in spending, and I'm willing to do more. I want to reform our tax  
L5 code so it's simpler and fairer, but the only way we're going to reduce the deficit is  
L6 also to ask the wealthiest households to pay higher taxes on incomes over  
L7 \$250,000 -- (applause) -- to go back to the same rate we had when Bill Clinton  
L8 was President, our economy created nearly 23 million new jobs, we went from  
L9 deficit to surplus, and we created a whole lot of millionaires to boot. (Applause.)

P22

L1 And understand the reason why I want to do this, it's because that's how an  
L2 economy grows. If we keep taxes low for middle-class families, if you've got a  
L3 little more money in your pocket, what do you do? You spend it. Maybe you buy  
L4 that new computer for your kid. Maybe you finally trade in that 10-year-old car  
L5 you've got. And that means that business now has more customers, and they're  
L6 making more profits, which means they hire more workers. Everybody does better  
L7 when we're growing together. Now, my opponent, he's got a plan, too. But as  
L8 President Clinton pointed out, there's no math in it. (Laughter.) It's missing  
arithmetic. (Applause.)

P23

L1 They say the biggest priority -- we've got to reduce our debt, reduce our deficit.  
L2 You see their ads: Oh, we've got to reduce our deficit. And then the first thing they  
L3 want to do is spend trillions of dollars on new tax breaks for the wealthy. And  
L4 when you ask them, well, how does that work, they **can't** explain it. They **won't**  
L5 say how they'd pay for \$5 trillion in new tax cuts without raising taxes on  
L6 middle-class families. They want to spend another \$2 trillion on new military  
L7 spending that our military says we don't need. The reason they **can't** explain it is  
L8 because the math doesn't work.

P24

L1 And I tell you what, I want you to be clear, Virginia, I want to work with  
L2 Republicans to reduce our deficit. (Applause.) I don't want continued gridlock on  
L3 Capitol Hill, but I'm not ashamed to say I **will** refuse to ask middle-class families  
L4 to give up their deductions for owning a home or raising kids just so millionaires  
L5 get another tax cut. (Applause.) I refuse to ask students to pay more for college –  
L6 (applause) -- or kick children off of Head Start programs, or eliminate health  
L7 insurance for millions of Americans, including the poor and the elderly and the  
L8 disabled — just to pay for more tax cuts that we **can't** afford.

P25

L1 And I promise you, I **will** refuse to turn Medicare into a voucher. (Applause.)  
L2 Americans who have worked hard **shouldn't** have to spend their golden years at  
L3 the mercy of insurance companies. They **should** retire with the care and the  
L4 dignity they have earned. So we **will** reform and strengthen Medicare for the long  
L5 haul, but we **will** do it by reducing the cost of health care — not by dumping those  
L6 costs onto seniors. Just like we **will** keep the promise of Social Security, but we **will**  
L7 **not** be slashing benefits or turning it over to Wall Street, like some have proposed.  
L8 That's the wrong way to go. (Applause.)

P26

L1 Now, Virginia, I've talked about what we need to do here at home, but it's  
L2 connected to what we do abroad. Four years ago, I promised to end the war in Iraq,  
L3 and I did. (Applause.) I said we'd wind down the war in Afghanistan, and we are.  
L4 Thirty-three thousand more troops have now left Afghanistan. (Applause.)  
L5 Meanwhile, a new tower is rising above the New York skyline, al Qaeda is on the  
L6 path to defeat, Osama bin Laden is dead. (Applause.)

P27

L1 But as we saw last week, we still face serious threats in the world. We have to  
L2 make sure that not only our military, but also our diplomats overseas are protected.  
L3 We've got to go after anybody who harms Americans overseas. (Applause.) And as  
L4 long as I am Commander-in-Chief, we **will** sustain the strongest military the world  
L5 has ever known. (Applause.)

P28

L1 And when our troops come home and take off their uniform, we **will** serve them as  
L2 well as they've served us — (applause) -- because nobody who has fought for us  
L3 **should** have to fight for a job or a roof over their heads when they come home.  
L4 (Applause.) Now, my opponent has got a different idea. He says it was "tragic" to  
L5 end the war in Iraq; still **won't** tell us how he **d** end the war in Afghanistan. I have,  
L6 and I **will**. And I **will** use the money we're no longer spending on war to pay down  
L7 our debt and put more folks to work back here in the United States rebuilding  
L8 roads and bridges, runways, broadband lines, schools. (Applause.) After a decade  
L9 of war, it's time to do some nation-building right here at home. (Applause.)

P29

L1 So that's the choice we now face. This is what the election comes down to. Over  
L2 and over, we've been told by the other side, the opponent, that bigger tax cuts and  
L3 fewer regulations are the only way to go; that since government **can't** do  
L4 everything, it **should** do almost nothing. Their basic attitude is, you're on your  
L5 own. If you **can't** afford health insurance, hope you don't get sick. If some plant is

L6 releasing pollution into the air that your children breathe, well, that's the price of  
L7 progress. If you **can't** afford to go to college, just borrow some money from your  
L8 parents. (Laughter.) I've got a different vision. I don't think that's who we are. I  
L9 don't think that's what this country is about. (Applause.) We don't think  
L10 government **can** solve all our problems. But we don't think government is the  
source of all our problems either.

AUDIENCE: No!

P30

L1 THE PRESIDENT: We don't think anybody is the source of all our problems -- not  
L2 welfare recipients, not corporations, not unions, not immigrants, not gays.  
L3 (Applause.) Not all the other groups that we're told to blame for our troubles,  
L4 because we believe that here in America we're all in it together. (Applause.) We  
L5 believe America only works when we accept responsibility for ourselves, but also  
L6 certain responsibilities for each other and for our country -- (applause) -- to create  
L7 a country that's filled with more opportunity and possibility than any other nation  
L8 on Earth. We understand that America is not what **can** be done for us, but what  
L9 **can** be done by us together, as one nation, as one people. (Applause.)

P31

L1 And that's what the campaign was about four years ago. I'll say it again, it was not  
L2 about me. It was about you. (Applause.) You were the change. You were the reason  
L3 a mother from Leesburg doesn't have to worry about her son being denied medical  
L4 coverage due to his heart condition. You made that happen. You're the reason a  
L5 veteran in Virginia Beach **can** go to college on the new GI Bill. You did that.  
L6 (Applause.) You're the reason a middle-class family here in Virginia got a tax cut,  
L7 money they're using to buy groceries and put gas in the car, maybe pay off some  
L8 hospital bills when their daughter was born. That's because of you. You're the  
L9 reason a young immigrant who grew up here and pledged allegiance to our flag is  
L10 no longer going to be deported from the only country she's ever known.  
(Applause.)

P32

L1 You're the reason why an outstanding soldier **won't** be kicked out of our military  
L2 just because of who he loves. (Applause.) You're the reason why families all across  
L3 this country **can** welcome home loved ones who served us so bravely, give them  
L4 that hug, know they're back and safe. (Applause.) You're the reason. That's how  
L5 change happened.

P33

L1 Now, yesterday, I made this same point at a town hall in Florida. I said, one thing  
L2 I've learned is that you **can't** change Washington just from the inside. You change  
L3 it from the outside. You change it because people are mobilized. You change it  
L4 with the help of ordinary Americans who are willing to make their voices heard  
L5 because of the decency and the goodness and the common sense of Americans.  
L6 That's what moves the country forward. (Applause.)

P34

L1 Now, for some reason my opponent got really excited. He rewrote his speech real  
L2 quick. (Laughter.) He stood up at a rally, proudly declared, "I'll get the job done  
L3 from the inside." (Laughter.) What kind of inside job is he talking about?  
L4 (Applause.) Is it the job of rubberstamping the top-down, you're-on-your-own

L5 agenda of this Republican Congress? Because if it is, we don't want it. (Applause.)  
L6 If it's the job of letting oil companies run our energy policy, we don't want it.

AUDIENCE: No!

THE PRESIDENT: If it's the job of outsources writing our tax code, we don't want it.

AUDIENCE: No!

P35

L1 THE PRESIDENT: If it's the job of letting politicians decide who you **can** marry,  
L2 or control the health care choices that women **should** be able to make for  
L3 themselves, we'll take a pass. (Applause.) We don't want an inside job in  
L4 Washington. We want change in Washington. (Applause.) And from the day we  
L5 began this campaign, we've always said that change takes more than one term or  
L6 even one President, and it certainly takes more than one party. It **can't** happen if  
L7 you write off half the nation before you even took office. (Applause.)

P36

L1 In 2008, 47 percent of the country didn't vote for me. But on the night of the  
L2 election, I said to all those Americans, "I **may not** have won your vote but I hear  
L3 you voices, I need your help, and I **will** be your President." (Applause.) And for  
L4 everybody who is watching, or anybody here who is still undecided, I don't know  
L5 how many people are going to vote for me this time around, but -- (applause) --  
L6 hold on -- but I'm telling the American people I **will** be fighting for you no matter  
L7 what. (Applause.) I **will** be your President no matter what. (Applause.) I'm not  
L8 fighting to create Democratic jobs or Republican jobs, I'm fighting to create  
L9 American jobs. (Applause.)

P37

L1 I'm not fighting to improve red state schools or blue state schools, I'm fighting to  
L2 improve schools in the United States of America. (Applause.) The values we  
L3 believe in don't just belong to workers or businesses, the 53 percent or the 47  
L4 percent, the rich or the poor, the 1 percent, the 99 percent -- these are American  
L5 values. They belong to all of us. (Applause.)

P38

L1 Virginia, I still believe we're not as divided as our politics suggest. I still believe  
L2 we've got more in common than the pundits tell us. I believe in you. I still believe  
L3 in your capacity to help me bring about change. And I'm asking you to keep  
believing in me. (Applause.)

P39

L1 I'm asking for your vote. And if you're willing to stand with me and work with me,  
L2 we'**ll** win Prince William County. We **will** win Virginia. We'**ll** finish what we've  
L3 started, and we'**ll** remind the world why the United States of America is the  
L4 greatest nation on Earth. (Applause.)

God bless you. God bless the United States

Text 12: Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Campaign Stop in Wisconsin  
Madison, Wisconsin  
October 4, 2012

Hello, Madison! (Applause.) Go Badgers! (Applause.)

P1

L1 First of all, I've got to just point out that some members of the Badgers basketball  
L2 team are here -- they're getting ready for the season coming up. (Applause.)  
L3 They've invited me to play, so I said after the election. (Laughter.) I **will** be raining  
L4 down jumpers on them. (Applause.) Actually I didn't say that. I said I'm getting  
L5 kind of old. (Laughter.)

P2

**L1 Can** everybody please give Katie an unbelievable round of applause for that great  
L2 introduction? (Applause.) We've got one of the finest men I know, as well as a  
L3 great United States senator, Herb Kohl is here. (Applause.) Your next United  
L4 States senator, Tammy Baldwin. (Applause.) Your next congressman, Mark Pocan.  
L5 (Applause.) Your mayor, Paul Soglin. (Applause.)

P3

L1 And we've got a whole bunch of other folks here. This is an unbelievable crowd.  
L2 I've been told this is good practice for Halloween on State Street. (Applause.) But  
L3 there's something that you've got to do before then, Madison -- you've got to vote.  
L4 (Applause.) In just 18 days, on October 22nd, Wisconsin gets to start voting early.  
L5 So you **can** register and vote at your early vote location. And if you need to find  
L6 out where it is, go to [Vote.BarackObama.com](http://Vote.BarackObama.com) -- find out where, when, how to vote.

P4

L1 Now, some of you **may** have heard, last night we had our first debate. (Applause.)  
L2 And I just flew in from Denver, and I was telling folks there, when I got on the  
L3 stage, I met this very spirited fellow who claimed to be Mitt Romney. (Laughter.)  
L4 But I know it **couldn't** have been Mitt Romney -- because the real Mitt Romney  
L5 has been running around the country for the last year promising \$5 trillion in tax  
L6 cuts that favor the wealthy. And yet, the fellow on the stage last night -- who  
L7 looked like Mitt Romney -- (laughter) -- said he did not know anything about that.  
L8 It was all news to him. The real Mitt Romney said that we don't need any more  
teachers in the classroom.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: Don't boo -- vote. (Applause.)

P5

L1 But the fellow on stage last night, he said he loves teachers -- **can't** get enough of  
L2 them. (Laughter.) The Mitt Romney we all know invested in companies that were  
L3 called "pioneers" of outsourcing jobs to other countries. But the guy on stage last  
L4 night, he said he'd never heard of tax breaks for companies that shift jobs overseas.  
L5 Never heard of them. (Laughter.) And he said, if that's true, he **must** need a new



L6 accountant. So now we know for sure that wasn't the real Mitt Romney, because  
L7 the real Mitt Romney is doing just fine with the accountant that he already has.  
(Laughter.)

P6

L1 Whoever it was that was on stage last night doesn't want to be held accountable for  
L2 what the real Mitt Romney has been saying for the last year, and that's because he  
L3 knows full well that we don't want what he's been selling over the last year.  
L4 (Applause.) Governor Romney **may** dance around his positions, he **may** do a tap  
L5 dance and a two-step, but if you want to be President, then you owe the American  
L6 people the truth. (Applause.)

P7

L1 So here's the truth. Governor Romney **cannot** pay for his \$5 trillion tax plan  
L2 without blowing up the deficit or sticking it to the middle class. We **can't** afford to  
L3 go down that road again. We **can't** afford another round of budget-busting tax cuts  
L4 for the wealthy. We **can't** afford to gut our investments in education, or clean  
L5 energy, or research, or technology. We **can't** afford to roll back regulations on Wall  
L6 Street banks or oil companies or insurance companies. (Applause.) We **can't**  
L7 afford to double down on the same top-down economic policies that got us into  
L8 this mess. That is not a jobs plan. It's not a plan for our economy. It's not a plan to  
L9 strengthen the middle class. It is not change, it is a relapse, and we're not going to  
L10 do it. (Applause.) We have been there. We have tried that. We are not going back.  
L11 We're moving forward. (Applause.)

P8

L1 Because I've got a different view. We have a different view about how to create  
L2 jobs and prosperity. This country doesn't succeed when only the rich get richer. We  
L3 succeed when everybody has a shot -- when the middle class is getting bigger,  
L4 when there are ladders of opportunity into the middle class. Our economy does not  
L5 grow from the top down; it grows from the middle out. That's how it grows.  
(Applause.)

P9

L1 We don't believe that anybody is entitled to success in this country, but we do  
L2 believe in opportunity. We do believe in a country where hard work pays off and  
L3 responsibility is rewarded, where everybody is getting a fair shot and everybody is  
L4 doing their fair share and everybody is playing by the same rules. That's the  
L5 country we believe in. That's what I've been fighting for, for the last four years.  
L6 That's why I'm running for a second term as President of the United States.  
(Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

P10

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Madison, what we are rallying around is a new economic  
L2 patriotism that is rooted in the core belief that built this country -- the belief that  
L3 the economy grows when we have a strong and thriving middle class and  
L4 everybody who works hard has a shot. And there are specific ways that we can do L5  
that. I want to export more products, and outsource fewer jobs. (Applause.) My  
L6 opponent said we **should** "let Detroit go bankrupt." We came together --

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: Don't boo --

AUDIENCE: Vote!

THE PRESIDENT: -- vote.

P11

L1 We came together to reinvent a dying auto industry that's now back on top of the  
L2 world. We've created half a million new manufacturing jobs. And so we **can** keep  
L3 giving tax breaks to companies that are shipping jobs overseas, or we **can** start  
L4 rewarding companies that are opening new plants and training new workers right  
L5 here in Wisconsin, right here in the United States of America. That's what we need  
L6 to do. (Applause.) I want to help big factories and small businesses double their  
L7 exports, create a million new manufacturing jobs. You **can** make that happen, but  
you're going to have to vote.

P12

L1 I want to control more of our own energy. After 30 years of doing nothing, we  
L2 raised fuel standards so that by the middle of the next decade, your cars and trucks  
L3 **will** go twice as far on a gallon of gas. (Applause.) That's good for your  
L4 pocketbook, that's good for our economy, and it's also good for our environment.  
L5 (Applause.) We've doubled the amount of renewable energy that we generate from  
L6 sources like wind and solar. Thousands of Americans have jobs today building  
L7 wind turbines, long-lasting batteries. Today, the United States of America is less L8  
dependent on oil than at any time in nearly two decades. (Applause.)

P13

L1 So now you've got a choice between a plan that reverses this progress, as you  
L2 heard last night, or one that builds on it. The guy who was playing Mitt Romney  
L3 said he refuses to close a loophole that gives big oil companies \$4 billion in  
L4 taxpayer subsidies every single year. Does anybody think that oil companies need  
L5 a tax subsidy right now?

AUDIENCE: No!

P13

L1 THE PRESIDENT: So we've got a better plan. We're going to keep investing in  
L2 wind and solar and clean coal, and farmers and scientists **can** harness biofuels to  
L3 power our cars and our trucks -- (applause) -- and make our buildings and schools  
L4 more energy efficient, and develop our natural gas that's right beneath our feet.  
L5 And if we do all those things, we **can** cut our oil imports in half by 2020. We **can**  
L6 support hundreds of thousands of jobs all across the country. But you're going to  
L7 have to vote to make it happen. (Applause.)

P14

L1 I want to make sure that every young person in America has the chance to get the  
L2 skills, the knowledge they need to compete in this 21st century economy.  
L3 Education is the only reason I'm standing on this stage. (Applause.) It's the only  
L4 reason Michelle was able to do what she did. And so we haven't forgotten that we  
L5 needed some student loans to get through school. That's why over the last four  
L6 years, we've helped millions of students pay less for college, because we finally  
L7 took on a system that was wasting billions of dollars on banks and lenders. We  
L8 said, let's cut out the middleman; let's give the money directly to students.  
L9 (Applause.) Now, the guy playing Mitt Romney last night says he loves education,  
L10 but the budget that his running mate, Congressman Ryan, put forward --



AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: Don't boo --

AUDIENCE: Vote!

THE PRESIDENT: -- vote.

P15

L1 **Would** gut education to pay for more tax breaks for the wealthy. That's one path.  
L2 It's the wrong path. We need to decide that in the United States of America, no  
L3 child **should** have her dream deferred because of an overcrowded classroom,  
L4 because of outdated textbooks. No family **should** have to set aside an acceptance  
L5 letter to go to the University of Wisconsin because they don't have the money.  
L6 (Applause.) No company **should** have to look for workers in China because they  
L7 **couldn't** find any with the right skills here in the United States. So I need you to  
L8 help me recruit 100,000 new math and science teachers, improve early-childhood  
L9 education, give 2 million workers the chance to learn skills at the community  
L10 college that **will** lead directly to a job. Help us work with colleges and  
L11 universities like this one to cut the growth of tuition costs so that you guys aren't  
L12 overburdened with debt when you graduate. That's a goal we **can** meet. We **can**  
L13 choose that future for America. (Applause.)

P16

L1 We're going to have to do something about the deficit, but we've got to do it in a  
L2 smart way. I said I'd cut the deficit by \$4 trillion through a mix of spending cuts  
L3 and higher taxes on the wealthiest of Americans. I've already worked with  
L4 Republicans to cut a trillion dollars in spending. I'm willing to do more.

P17

L1 I want to reform the tax code so it's simple and it's fair. But I'm also going to ask  
L2 the wealthiest among us to pay higher taxes on incomes over \$250,000 –  
L3 (applause) -- the same rate we had when Bill Clinton was President, created 23  
L4 million new jobs, went from deficit to surplus. And, look, the whole economy does  
L5 well when taxes are kept low for middle-class families and working families,  
L6 because when you guys have a little extra money in your pocket you spend it –  
L7 you have to, on basic necessities. And that means business has more customers and  
L8 they make more profits. They then hire more workers and the economy as a whole  
L9 begins to grow.

P18

L1 But to do that and reduce the deficit at the same time, we've got to ask folks who  
L2 **can** afford it to do a little bit more. Now, last night, this **may** have actually been  
L3 the real Mitt Romney, because he ruled out raising a dime on taxes on anyone ever,  
L4 no matter how much money they make; ruled out closing those loopholes that are  
L5 giving \$4 billion of corporate welfare to the oil companies; refused to even  
L6 acknowledge the loophole that gives tax breaks to corporations that move jobs  
L7 overseas. When he was asked what he **would** do to actually cut spending and  
L8 reduce the deficit, he said he'd eliminate public television funding.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: So don't boo, now --

AUDIENCE: Vote!

P19

L1 THE PRESIDENT: But I just want to make sure I got this straight. He'll get rid of  
L2 regulations on Wall Street, but he's going to crack down on Sesame Street.  
L3 (Applause.) Thank goodness somebody is finally cracking down on Big Bird.  
L4 (Applause.) Who knew that he was responsible for all these deficits? (Laughter.)  
L5 Elmo has got to watch out. (Laughter.) The fact is the guy playing Mitt Romney  
L6 last night, his math doesn't add up. The only way to pay for \$5 trillion in new tax L7  
cuts and \$2 trillion in new defense spending that the military is not asking for is by L8  
either blowing up the deficit or asking you to pay more. And I refuse to do that.  
L9 I'm not going to ask middle-class families to give up their deduction for owning a  
L10 home or raising their kids just to pay for another millionaire's tax cut. (Applause.)

P20

L1 I refuse to ask students to pay more for college, or kick children out of Head Start  
L2 programs, or eliminate health insurance for millions of Americans to pay for a tax L3  
cut we **can't** afford. (Applause.) And I **will not** turn Medicare into a voucher. I  
L4 explained why yesterday. Governor Romney doubled down on this proposal last  
L5 night and he is wrong. No American **should** ever have to spend their golden years  
L6 at the mercy of insurance companies. They **should** retire with dignity and the care  
L7 that they've earned. (Applause.) So we **can** reform Medicare the right way by  
L8 reducing health care costs, not by asking seniors to pay thousands of dollars more.  
L9 And we **will** keep the promise of Social Security; strengthen it. But we **won't** turn  
L10 it over to Wall Street. (Applause.)

P21

L1 Now, Madison, we talked a lot about domestic affairs yesterday. But we're going to  
L2 have a chance to talk about what's happening abroad as well. Four years ago, I  
L3 promised to end the war in Iraq, and I did. (Applause.) I said we'd wind down the  
L4 war in Afghanistan in a responsible way, and we are. (Applause.) And because we  
L5 were able to refocus attention, al Qaeda is on the path to defeat and Osama bin  
L6 Laden is dead. (Applause.)

P21

L1 Now, there's still a lot of threats out there. We saw that just tragically in the last  
L2 couple of weeks. And that's why, so long as I'm Commander-in-Chief, we'll  
L3 **sustain** the strongest military the world has ever known. And when our troops take  
L4 off the uniform, we'll serve them as well as they've served us. (Applause.) Nobody  
L5 **should** have to fight for a job, or a roof over their head when they have fought for  
L6 America's freedom. We **will** honor that commitment. (Applause.)

P22

L1 Now, I don't know who's going to show up at the next debate, but I do know that  
L2 the real Mitt Romney said it was "tragic" to end the war in Iraq. He **won't** tell us  
L3 how he'd end the war in Afghanistan. I have, and I **will**. And I'm going to use the  
L4 money that we're no longer spending on war to pay down our debt and to put more  
L5 people back to work rebuilding roads and bridges, and schools and runways. After  
L6 a decade of war, it's time to do some nation-building here at home. That's why I'm  
L7 running for a second term. (Applause.)

P23

L1 So this is the choice we now face. This is what the election comes down to. The

L2 other side **will** tell you that since government **can't** do everything, it **should** do  
L3 almost nothing. If you **can't** afford health insurance, hope you don't get sick. If a  
L4 company is releasing pollution into the air that your children breathe, well, that's  
L5 the price of progress. If you **can't** afford to start a business or go to college,  
L6 borrow money from your parents.

P24

L1 You know, that's not what this country is about. That's not how are greatness was  
L2 built. Here in America, we believe we're all in this together. We understand it's not  
L3 about what **can** be done for us. It's about what **can** be done by us, together, as one  
L4 nation, and as one people. (Applause.) That's what we believe. (Applause.) You're  
L5 the reason the mother in Green Bay doesn't have to worry about her son being  
L6 denied medical coverage because of a preexisting condition. You made that happen.  
L7 (Applause.) You're the reason a middle-class family in Milwaukee got a tax cut,  
L8 money they **can** use to buy groceries, and put gas in the car, and pay their bills.  
L9 You did that. You're the reason that a student right here at the University of  
L10 Wisconsin is getting more help paying her college education, or a veteran can go  
L11 to this school on the New GI Bill. You made that happen. (Applause.) You made  
L12 that happen.

P25

L1 You're the reason a young immigrant who went to school here, grew up here,  
L2 pledged allegiance to our flag, **will** no longer be deported from the only country  
L3 she's ever called home. (Applause.) You're the reason an outstanding soldier **won't**  
L4 be kicked out of the military just because of who he loves. (Applause.) And you're  
L5 the reason thousands of families have finally been able to say to loved ones who  
L6 served us so bravely: "Welcome home." Welcome home. (Applause.) Welcome  
home.

P26

L1 And, Madison, that's why you **can't** buy into the cynicism that is so prevalent, the  
L2 idea that the change we fought for somehow isn't possible -- because when that  
L3 happens, change doesn't happen. If you give up on the idea that your voice can  
L4 make a difference, then other people fill the void -- the well-connected, the  
L5 lobbyists, the folks who can write \$10 million checks to try to buy this election, or  
L6 the ones who are trying to make it harder to vote. Washington politicians who  
L7 want to control health care choices that women are perfectly capable of making  
L8 themselves. (Applause.) You **can't** let that happen. You've got to move us forward.

P27

L1 I've always said change doesn't happen in one year, or one term, or even one  
L2 President. It doesn't happen with one political party. Change happens because  
L3 everybody gets involved and says it's going to happen. It certainly **can't** happen if  
L4 you're someone who wants to lead the nation but writes off half the nation before  
L5 you even take office. (Applause.) In 2008, 47 percent of the American people did  
L6 not vote for me. They voted for John McCain. But on the night of the election, I  
L7 said to those Americans, I **may not** have won your vote, but I hear your voices, I  
L8 need your help. I **will** be your President, too. (Applause.)

P28

L1 And I don't know how many folks **will** vote for me this time, but I want you to  
L2 know I **will** be with you no matter what. Because I'm not fighting to create

L3 Democratic jobs or Republican jobs --I'm fighting to create American jobs.  
L4 (Applause.) I'm not fighting to improve schools in the red states or blue states –  
L5 I'm fighting to improve schools in the United States. (Applause.) I'm not fighting  
L6 on behalf of values that are rich or poor, or business or worker -- I'm fighting for  
L7 those American values of hard work and looking out for one another. And they  
L8 belong to all of us. And if we rally around those values, if we have a genuine sense  
L9 of patriotism about how we build an economy where everybody is getting a fair  
L10 shot, then we're going to strengthen the middle class, and we're going to keep  
moving forward.

P29

L1 And I believe that our politics is not as divided as it seems sometimes. I still  
L2 believe in the American people. They are what gives me strength every single day.  
L3 They are what get me up in the morning, and they're what I'm thinking about when  
L4 I go to bed at night. (Applause.) I believe in you. I'm asking you to keep believing  
L5 in me. I'm asking for your vote. (Applause.) And if you stand with me, and work  
L6 with me, we **will** win Madison again. We'**ll** win Wisconsin again. We **will** win the  
L7 election again. We'**ll** finish what we started in 2008, and remind the world why the  
L8 United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth. (Applause.)

God bless you, Madison! (Applause.) God bless you, Wisconsin! God bless the United  
States of America. (Applause.)

Text 13: Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Remarks at the Alfred E. Smith Dinner  
New York, New York  
October 19, 2012

P1

L1 Thank you. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you so much. Thank you. (Applause.)

L2 Everyone, please take your seats -- otherwise Clint Eastwood **will** yell at them. (Laughter.)

P2

L1 Thank you to Al and Ann. To Your Eminence; Governor, Mrs. Romney; Governor  
L2 Cuomo; Mayor Bloomberg; Senator Schumer; all the distinguished guests who are here.

P3

L1 In less than three weeks, voters in states like Ohio and Virginia and Florida **will**  
**L2** decide this incredibly important election -- which begs the question, what are we  
L3 doing here? (Laughter.)

P4

L1 Of course, New Yorkers also have a big choice to make -- you have to decide

L2 which one of us you want holding up traffic for the next four years. (Laughter.)

L3 Tonight I am here with a man whose father was a popular governor, and who

L4 knows what it's like to run a major Northeastern state, and who **could** very well be  
L5 president someday -- and I'm hoping it is Andrew Cuomo. (Laughter and applause.)

P5

L1 This is the third time that Governor Romney and I have met recently. As some of

L2 you **may** have noticed, I had a lot more energy at our second debate. (Laughter.) I

L3 felt really well rested after the nice, long nap I had in the first debate. (Laughter

L4 and applause.) Although it turns out millions of Americans focused in on the

L5 second debate who didn't focus in on the first debate -- and I happen to be one of

L6 them. (Laughter.) I particularly want to apologize to Chris Matthews. (Laughter.)

L7 Four years ago, I gave him a thrill up his leg -- (laughter) -- this time around I gave  
L8 him a stroke. (Laughter.)

P6

L1 And of course, there's a lot of things I learned from that experience. For example, I

L2 learned that there are worse things that **can** happen to you on your anniversary

L3 than forgetting to buy a gift. (Laughter and applause.) So, take note, gentlemen.

L4 Now, win or lose, this is my last political campaign. So I'm trying to drink it all in.

L5 Unfortunately, Mayor Bloomberg **will** only let me have 16 ounces of it. (Laughter.)

L6 That's okay, I'm still making the most of my time in the city. Earlier today, I went

L7 shopping at some stores in Midtown. I understand Governor Romney went

L8 shopping for some stores in Midtown. (Laughter.)

P7

L1 And it brought back some great memories because, some of you know, I went to

L2 school here in New York, had a wonderful experience here. (Applause.) Used to

L3 love walking through Central Park, loved to go to old Yankee Stadium, the house

L4 that Ruth built -- although he really did not build that. (Laughter.) I hope  
L5 everybody is aware of that. (Applause.)

P8

L1 It's been four years since I was last at the Al Smith Dinner. And I have to admit  
L2 some things have changed since then. I've heard some people say, "Barack, you're  
L3 not as young as you used to be. Where's that golden smile? Where's that pep in  
L4 your step?" And I say, "Settle down, Joe, I'm trying to run a Cabinet meeting."  
L5 (Laughter.) He does smile when he says it, though. (Laughter.)

P9

L1 Tomorrow it's back to campaigning. I visit cities and towns across our great  
L2 country, and I hear the same thing everywhere I go -- honestly, we were hoping to  
L3 see Michelle. (Laughter.) And I have to admit it **can** be a grind. Sometimes it feels  
L4 like this race has dragged on forever. But Paul Ryan assured me that we've only  
L5 been running for two hours and 50-something minutes. (Laughter and applause.)

P10

L1 Of course, the economy is on everybody's minds. The unemployment rate is at its  
L2 lowest level since I took office. I don't have a joke here. I just thought it **would** be  
L3 useful to remind everybody that the unemployment rate is at the lowest it's been  
L4 since I took office. (Laughter and applause.) And we're getting to that time when  
L5 folks are making up their minds. Just the other day, Honey Boo Boo endorsed me.  
L6 (Laughter.) So that's a big relief.

P11

L1 Ultimately, though, tonight is not about the disagreements Governor Romney and I  
L2 **may** have. It's what we have in common -- beginning with our unusual names.  
L3 Actually, Mitt is his middle name. I wish I **could** use my middle name. (Laughter  
L4 and applause.) And even though we're enjoying ourselves tonight, we're both  
L5 thinking ahead to our final debate on Monday. I'm hoping that Governor Romney  
L6 and I **will** have a chance to answer the question that is on the minds of millions of  
L7 Americans watching at home: Is this happening again? (Laughter.) Why aren't they  
L8 putting on The Voice? (Laughter.)

P12

L1 Monday's debate is a little bit different because the topic is foreign policy. Spoiler  
L2 alert: We got bin Laden. (Laughter and applause.) Of course, world affairs are a  
L3 challenge for every candidate. After -- some of you guys remember, after my  
L4 foreign trip in 2008, I was attacked as a celebrity because I was so popular with  
L5 our allies overseas. And I have to say, I'm impressed with how well Governor  
L6 Romney has avoided that problem. (Laughter and applause.) Now, just so  
L7 everyone knows, in our third debate we **won't** spend a whole lot of time  
L8 interrupting each other. We **will** also interrupt the moderator, just to mix things up.  
(Laughter.)

P13

L1 And finally, let me say that I've been doing some thinking, and I've decided that  
L2 for our final debate I'm going to go back to the strategy I used to prepare for the  
L3 first debate. (Laughter.) I'm just kidding -- I'm trying to make Axelrod sweat a  
L4 little bit. (Laughter and applause.) Get him a little nervous. (Laughter.) In all

L5 seriousness, I **couldn't** be more honored to be here this evening. I'm honored to be  
L6 with leaders of both the private and public sectors, and particularly the  
L7 extraordinary work that is done by the Catholic Church. (Applause.)

P14

L1 It's written in Scripture that tribulation produces perseverance; and perseverance,  
L2 character; and character, hope. This country has fought through some very tough  
L3 years together, and while we still have a lot of work ahead, we've come as far as  
L4 we have mainly because of the perseverance and character of ordinary Americans.  
L5 And it says something about who we are as a people that in the middle of a  
L6 contentious election season, opposing candidates **can** share the same stage; people  
L7 from both parties **can** come together -- (applause) -- come together to support a  
L8 worthy cause. And I particularly want to thank Governor Romney for joining me,  
L9 because I admire him very much as a family man and a loving father, and those are  
L10 two titles that **will** always matter more than any political ones. (Applause.)

P15

L1 So we **may** have different political perspectives, but I think -- in fact, I'm certain --  
L2 that we share the hope that the next four years **will** reflect the same decency and  
L3 the same willingness to come together for a higher purpose that are on display this  
L4 evening. May we all, in the words of Al Smith, do our full duty as citizens.

God bless you. God bless your families. And may God bless the United States of  
America. Thank you very much. (Applause.)



Text 14: Barack Obama  
"Romnesia": Campaign Stop in Virginia  
Fairfax, Virginia  
October 19, 2012

P1

L1 Hello, Virginia! (Applause.) Are you fired up? (Applause.) Are you ready to go?

L2 (Applause.) I **can't** hear you! (Applause.) Well, it's good to be back. Thank you.

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years!

P2

L1 THE PRESIDENT: **Can** everybody please give Cecile a big round of applause for

L2 the great introduction and the work she does. (Applause.) We've got your

L3 Congressman here -- Gerry Connolly in the house. (Applause.)

P3

L1 Eighteen days. Eighteen days, Virginia. Eighteen days and you're going to step

L2 into a voting booth. And you're going to have a very big choice to make -- not just

L3 a choice between two candidates or two parties, but between two fundamentally

L4 different visions for this country that we love.

Governor Romney has got his sales pitch. We heard it the other night at the debate. He's been running around talking about his five-point plan for the economy.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: Don't boo -- vote. Vote! (Applause.)

P4

L1 He wants you to believe that somehow he **will** create 12 million jobs, cut taxes by \$5

L2 trillion, even though it favors the wealthiest Americans. None of this **will** add to

L3 the deficit. When folks who don't actually work for Governor Romney start

L4 crunching the numbers, it turns out the tax plan doesn't add up, jobs plan doesn't

L5 create jobs, deficit plan doesn't reduce the deficit. An economist at the New York

L6 Times put it this morning, "There's no jobs plan -- there's just a snow job on the

L7 American people." (Applause.) A snow job. Virginia, you've heard of the New

L8 Deal, you've heard of the Square Deal, the Fair Deal. Mitt Romney is trying to

L9 give you a Sketchy Deal. (Laughter.) A sketchy deal. And it's really just a

L10 one-point plan, not a five-point plan. One point -- folks at the very top play by a

L11 different set of rules than all of you.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: Listen, don't boo -- vote. (Laughter.)

P5

L1 If he offered you that deal when he was in corporate finance, you **wouldn't** give

L2 him a dime. So why **would** you give him his vote? This same philosophy that's

L3 been squeezing the middle-class family for more than a decade -- the same

L4 philosophy that got us into this mess. We **can't** go back to that.

AUDIENCE: No!

P6

L1 THE PRESIDENT: I've met too many good Americans who work so hard, show so

L2 much resilience, so much resolve -- we have been fighting our way back from



L3 some of the same policies he's advocating. We have been there. We have tried it.  
L4 We **can't** go back. (Applause.) We are moving forward. And that's why I'm  
L5 running for a second term as President of the United States. (Applause.)

P7

L1 Now, I believe that the biggest issue in this election is how do we rebuild a strong  
L2 middle class and provide ladders for opportunity -- all those who want to get into  
L3 the middle class, who are willing to work hard, willing to take responsibility. Are  
L4 we going to make sure that we're a country where everybody gets a fair shot, and  
L5 everybody is doing their fair share, and everybody is playing by the same rules?  
L6 (Applause.) So the economy is the dominant issue. But I want everybody to  
L7 understand that that's not the only place where Governor Romney is offering you a  
L8 sketchy deal. It's bad enough that my opponent wants to take us back to the failed  
L9 economic policies of the past. But when it comes to issues critical to women -- the  
L10 right to make your own decision about your health -- (applause) -- the right to be  
L11 treated fairly and equally in the workplace. (Applause.) Governor Romney wants  
L12 to take us to policies more suited to the 1950s. Even his own running mate said  
L13 he's "kind of a throwback to the '50s." That's one thing we agree on. (Laughter.)

P8

L1 He **may not** have noticed, we're in the 21st century. (Applause.) And in the 21st  
L2 century, a woman deserves equal pay for equal work. (Applause.) This **should** be a  
L3 no-brainer. But no matter how many times Governor Romney is asked whether or  
L4 not he supports a law upholding that idea, he refuses to say. Why **should** this be L5  
hard? Are you for equal pay for equal work? Are you for making sure that laws  
L6 enforce that basic principle?

P9

L1 He **can't** tell you. I **can**. (Applause.) I support that law. In fact, the Lilly Ledbetter  
L2 Fair Pay Act was the first law that I signed into office. (Applause.) And this isn't  
L3 just a women's issue. No man **should** want his wife, or his daughters paid less than  
L4 a man for doing the same job. (Applause.) This is a family issue. This is an  
L5 economic issue. It's one that we've got to fight for. When Governor Romney says  
he's going to get rid of funding for Planned Parenthood --

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: Don't boo --

AUDIENCE: Vote!

THE PRESIDENT: -- vote.

P10

L1 What he apparently doesn't understand is that there are millions of women all  
L2 across the country who rely on Planned Parenthood not just for contraceptive care,  
L3 but for preventive care. That's not just a health issue, it's an economic issue. When  
L4 Governor Romney said he'd have supported an extreme measure in Massachusetts  
L5 that **could** have outlawed some forms of contraception, when he joined the far  
L6 right of his party to support a bill that **would** have allowed any employer to deny  
L7 contraceptive care to their employees --

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: Don't boo --

AUDIENCE: Vote!

THE PRESIDENT: -- vote. (Laughter.)

P11

L1 What he didn't get is that making sure your insurance policy covers contraceptive  
L2 care is an economic issue also. I don't think your boss **should** decide what's best  
L3 for your health and safety.

AUDIENCE: No!

P12

L1 THE PRESIDENT: I don't think your insurance company gets to decide what care  
L2 you **should** get.

AUDIENCE: No!

P13

L1 THE PRESIDENT: And I sure don't think any politician **should** decide.  
L2 (Applause.) The only person who **should** decide about your health care is you.  
L3 (Applause.) And, by the way, that's why we fought so hard to pass health care  
L4 reform, a.k.a. Obamacare. That's why we pushed for it. (Applause.) This law has  
L5 secured new access to preventive care like mammograms and other cancer  
L6 screenings for more than 20 million women, with no co-pay, no deductible, no  
L7 out-of-pocket cost, because I do not believe a working mother **should** have to put off  
a mammogram just because money is tight. (Applause.)

P14

L1 This law means that most health plans are now beginning to cover the cost of  
L2 contraceptive care because I don't think a college student in Charlottesville or  
L3 Blacksburg or Fairfax **should** have to choose between textbooks or the preventive  
L4 care that she needs. (Applause.) And, by the way for all the young people out here,  
L5 Obamacare has already allowed nearly 7 million young adults under the age of 26  
L6 to sign up to stay on their parent's plans. (Applause.) For all those who are young  
L7 at heart but not young in years, it's already saved millions of seniors on Medicare  
L8 hundreds of dollars on their prescription medicine. (Applause.)

P15

L1 Insurance companies **can** no longer put lifetime limits on your care or discriminate  
L2 against children with preexisting conditions. (Applause.) And soon, they'**ll** no  
L3 longer be able to charge women more for the same care just because they're  
L4 women. That's what change looks like. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We love you, Obama!

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. (Applause.)

P16

L1 Now, anybody who thinks that this election doesn't matter, know this: My  
L2 opponent has promised to repeal all of the things we just talked about as soon as  
L3 he takes office, says he'd do it on day one. We know full well that if he gets the  
L4 chance, he'**ll** rubber-stamp the agenda of this Republican Congress the second he  
L5 takes office. Virginia, we **can't** give him that chance.

AUDIENCE: No!

P17

L1 THE PRESIDENT: I know he's called him severely -- he's called himself "severely  
L2 conservative," but there's nothing conservative about a government that prevents a  
L3 woman from making her own health care decisions. He talks about freedom, but  
L4 freedom is the ability to choose the care you need when you need it. Freedom is  
L5 the ability to change jobs or start your own business without the fear of losing your  
L6 health insurance. Freedom is the knowledge that you'll no longer be charged more  
L7 than men for the same health care, or denied affordable coverage just because you  
beat cancer.

P18

L1 When the next President and Congress **could** tip the balance of the highest court in  
L2 the land in a way that turns back the clock for women and families for decades to  
L3 come, you don't want someone who needs to ask for binders of women. (Applause.)  
L4 You don't want that guy. You want a President who has already appointed two  
L5 unbelievable women to the Supreme Court of the United States. (Applause.)

So, Virginia, the choice --

AUDIENCE: Obama! Obama! Obama!

P19

L1 THE PRESIDENT: The choice between going backward and moving forward has  
L2 never been so clear. But now that we're 18 days out from the election, Mr.  
L3 "Severely Conservative" -- (laughter) -- wants you to think he was severely  
L4 kidding about everything he said over the last year. (Laughter.) He told folks he  
L5 was "the ideal candidate" for the Tea Party. Now suddenly he's saying, "what, who,  
L6 me?" (Laughter.) He's forgetting what his own positions are, and he's betting that  
L7 you **will**, too. I mean, he's changing up so much and backtracking and sidestepping  
L8 -- (laughter) -- we've got to name this condition that he's going through. I think it's  
L9 called "Romnesia." (Laughter and applause.) That's what it's called. I think that's  
L10 what he's going through.

P20

L1 Now, I'm not a medical doctor, but I do want to go over some of the symptoms  
L2 with you -- because I want to make sure nobody else catches it. (Laughter and  
L3 applause.) If you say you're for equal pay for equal work, but you keep refusing to  
L4 say whether or not you'd sign a bill that protects equal pay for equal work -- you  
L5 **might** have Romnesia. (Laughter and applause.) If you say women **should** have  
L6 access to contraceptive care, but you support legislation that **would** let your  
L7 employer deny you contraceptive care -- you **might** have a case of Romnesia.  
L8 (Applause.) If you say you'll protect a woman's right to choose, but you stand up at  
L9 a primary debate and said that you'd be delighted to sign a law outlying --  
L10 outlawing that right to choose in all cases -- man, you've definitely got Romnesia.  
(Applause.)

P21

L1 Now, this extends to other issues. If you say earlier in the year, I'm going to give a  
L2 tax cut to the top 1 percent and then in a debate you say, I don't know anything  
L3 about giving tax cuts to rich folks -- you need to get a thermometer, take your  
L4 temperature, because you've probably got Romnesia. (Applause.) If you say that

L5 you're a champion of the coal industry when, while you were governor you stood  
L6 in front of a coal plant and said, this plant **will** kill you -- (laughter) --

AUDIENCE: Romnesia!

THE PRESIDENT: -- that's some Romnesia. (Applause.)

P22

L1 So I think you're being able -- you're beginning to be able to identify these  
L2 symptoms. And if you come down with a case of Romnesia, and you **can't** seem to  
L3 remember the policies that are still on your website -- (laughter) -- or the promises  
L4 you've made over the six years you've been running for President, here's the good  
L5 news: Obamacare covers preexisting conditions. (Laughter and applause.) We **can**  
L6 fix you up. We've got a cure. We **can** make you well, Virginia. (Applause.) This is  
L7 a curable disease. (Laughter.)

P23

L1 Women, men -- all of you -- these are family issues. These are economic issues. I  
L2 want my daughters to have the same opportunities as anybody's sons. I believe  
L3 America does better -- the economy grows more, we create more jobs -- when  
L4 everybody participates, when everyone is getting a fair shot, everybody is getting a  
L5 fair shake, everybody is playing by the same rules, everybody is doing their fair  
L6 share. That's why I'm running for a second term for President of the United States.  
L7 (Applause.) I need you to help me finish the job. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years!

P24

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Four years ago, I told you we'**d** end the war in Iraq, and we  
L2 did. (Applause.) I said we'**d** end the war in Afghanistan -- we are. I said we'**d**  
L3 refocus on the terrorists who actually attacked us on 9/11, and we have. (Applause.)  
L4 Al Qaeda is on the path to defeat. Osama bin Laden is dead. (Applause.) Four  
L5 years ago, I promised to cut taxes for middle-class families, and I have. (Applause.)  
L6 I promised to cut taxes for small business owners -- we have, 18 times. (Applause.)  
L7 We got every dime back from the banks that we used to rescue those banks. We  
L8 passed laws to end taxpayer-funded Wall Street bailouts for good. We repealed  
L9 "don't ask, don't tell," to make sure that nobody who wants to serve our country L10  
gets kicked out because of who they love. (Applause.)

P25

L1 When Governor Romney said we'**d** let -- he'**d** let Detroit go bankrupt, we said,  
L2 we're not going to take your advice. We reinvented a dying auto industry that's  
L3 come roaring back to the top of the world. (Applause.) Four years after the worst  
L4 economic crisis of our lifetime, we're moving. After losing 800,000 jobs a month  
L5 when I took office, businesses have now added over 5 million new jobs.  
L6 Unemployment has fallen from 10 percent to 7.8 percent. Home values are back  
L7 on the rise. (Applause.) The stock market has nearly doubled -- 401(k)s are  
L8 starting to recover. Manufacturing is coming home. Assembly lines are humming  
L9 again. We've got to keep moving forward. We've got to keep moving forward.  
(Applause.)

P26

L1 We've got more work to do. I've got a plan -- and it's a real plan, not a sales pitch --  
L2 to grow the economy and create jobs and build more security for the middle class.

L3 I want to send fewer jobs overseas and sell more products overseas. (Applause.) I  
L4 want to invest in manufacturers and small businesses that create jobs right here in  
L5 Virginia, right here in America. I want us to control more of our own energy, cut  
L6 oil imports in half, create thousands of clean energy jobs. I want every child to  
L7 have the same chance at a great education that Michelle and I received. (Applause.)  
L8 I want to hire more teachers in math and science, train 2 million workers at  
L9 community colleges, bring down the cost of college tuition. (Applause.)

P27

L1 I want to use the savings from ending the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan to pay  
L2 down our deficit, put our people back to work right here, doing some  
L3 nation-building here at home. (Applause.) That's the agenda you need. That's the  
L4 agenda we need. That's how we strengthen the middle class. That's how we **will** keep  
L5 moving forward. And in 18 days, you're going to have a chance to say whether we  
L6 keep moving forward. In 18 days, you **can** choose between top-down economic  
L7 policies that got us into this mess, or the middle class-out policies that are getting  
L8 us out of this mess. (Applause.)

P28

L1 In 18 days, you **can** choose a foreign policy that gets us into wars with no plan to  
L2 get out, or you **can** say let's end the Afghan war responsibly; let's bring our troops  
L3 home. (Applause.) Let's focus on making sure that we're building America. In 18  
L4 days, you **can** let them turn back the clock 50 years for immigrants, and gays, and  
L5 women, or we **can** stand up and say we are a country in which everybody has a  
L6 place. (Applause.) A country where no matter where you are, no matter what you  
L7 look like, no matter where you come from -- black, white, Hispanic, Asian, Native  
L8 American, young, old, gay, straight, abled, disabled -- we have a place for  
L9 everybody. (Applause.) Everybody has got a chance to make it if you try.

P29

L1 That's what's at stake, Virginia. That's why I'm asking for your vote. I believe in  
L2 you. I need you to keep believing in me. I want to finish the job. And if you're  
L3 willing to stand with me, and make some phone calls with me, and knock on some  
L4 doors with, get your friends to vote for me -- we **will** win Fairfax County again.  
L5 We **will** win Virginia again. (Applause.) We **will** finish what we started. And we **will**  
L6 remind the world why the United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth.

God bless you. God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

Text 15: Speeches from the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Barack Obama  
Campaign Remarks in Ohio  
Cleveland, Ohio  
October 25, 2012

Hello, Ohio! (Applause.) Are you fired up? (Applause.) Are you ready to go? (Applause.) I can't hear you. Are you fired up?

AUDIENCE: Yes!

THE PRESIDENT: Are you ready to go?

AUDIENCE: Yes!

P1

L1 THE PRESIDENT: I am glad to be back in Cleveland, Ohio! (Applause.) We've  
L2 got two extraordinary representatives who are here -- Betty Sutton and Marcy  
L3 Kaptur -- give them a big round of applause. (Applause.)

It's great to see all of you who are here.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We love you!

THE PRESIDENT: I love you back. (Applause.)

P2

L1 This is the final stop on our 48-hour fly-around all across America. We've been  
L2 going for two days straight. (Applause.) We've been from the East Coast to the  
L3 West Coast, and now we're going back East again. (Applause.) We just made a  
L4 quick stop in Chicago so I **could** vote. (Applause.) I **can't** tell you who I voted for  
L5 because it's a secret ballot. (Laughter.) But Michelle told me she voted for me.  
(Applause.)

P3

L1 So, Ohio, I've got to tell you, even though I've been going for about 38 hours  
L2 straight, even though my voice is getting kind of hoarse, I've still got a spring in  
L3 my step. (Applause.) Because our cause is right. (Applause.) Because we're  
L4 fighting for the future. (Applause.) I've come to Ohio today to ask you for your  
L5 vote. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

P4

L1 THE PRESIDENT: And the good news is I'm asking for your vote and I'm asking  
L2 you to vote early. (Applause.) Here in Ohio, you **can** vote now. You don't have to  
L3 vote later. I need you to vote early, and I need your help to keep moving America  
L4 forward. (Applause.) Look, we've already now had three debates. We've had a year  
L5 of campaigning. We have had way too many TV commercials. I feel bad for the  
L6 state of Ohio -- you've had a lot of commercials. (Laughter.) You've now heard

L6 Governor Romney's sales pitch.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: No, no, no, don't boo --

AUDIENCE: Vote!

THE PRESIDENT: -- vote. (Applause.)

P5

L1 But Governor Romney has been running around saying he's got a five-point plan  
L2 to fix the economy. Turns out it's only a one-point plan -- folks at the very top get  
L3 to play by a different set of rules than you do. They get to pay a lower tax rate,  
L4 outsource more jobs, let Wall Street run wild again. It was the philosophy he had  
L5 when he was in the private sector. It was the philosophy he had as a governor in  
L6 Massachusetts. And if it sounds familiar, it's because we just tried that philosophy  
L7 in the decade before I took office. And we know what happened. It didn't work.

P6

L1 Jobs were being shipped overseas at a record pace. Incomes were falling. Record  
L2 deficits, the slowest job growth in half a century. Incomes were not going up --  
L3 they were going down. The worst economic crisis since the Great Depression.  
L4 That's what those ideas produced. And we've been working for four years now,  
L5 Ohio, to clean up the mess that those policies left behind.

P7

L1 Now, Governor Romney understands this. He knows his plan is no different than  
L2 what we tried under the previous President. So in the final weeks of this election,  
L3 since he knows that it's probably not going to be real popular, he's trying to kind of  
L4 fuzz things up a little bit. He's counting on you to forget. He's hoping that you  
L5 come down with what we call a case of --

AUDIENCE: Romnesia! (Applause.)

P8

L1 THE PRESIDENT: -- Romnesia. (Laughter.) He's hoping you **won't** remember  
L2 that his economic plan is more likely to create jobs in China than here in Ohio,  
L3 because it rewards companies that ship jobs overseas instead of companies that are  
L4 creating jobs right here in Ohio, right here in the United States of America.  
(Applause.)

P9

L1 He's hoping you **won't** remember that he wants to give millionaires and  
L2 billionaires a \$250,000 tax cut. And the reason he **can't** explain it is because the  
L3 only way to pay for it is either by blowing a hole in the deficit, making it even  
L4 bigger, or making your taxes higher.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: Don't boo -- vote.

P10

L1 He's hoping that if he just keeps on saying how much he loves cars over and over  
L2 again -- (laughter) -- that you **won't** remember he wrote an article that was titled,  
L3 "Let Detroit Go Bankrupt."



AUDIENCE: Booo --

P11

L1 THE PRESIDENT: I mean, I don't know how a guy sits on a stage, talking to tens  
L2 of millions of fellow Americans, and you are saying somehow that you were all for  
L3 the auto industry when everybody remembers you weren't. (Applause.) The people  
L4 of Detroit remember. The people of Ohio remember. (Applause.) If Mitt Romney  
L5 had been President when the auto industry was on the verge of collapse, we **might**  
L6 **not** have an American auto industry today. We'd be buying cars from China,  
L7 instead of selling cars to China.

P12

L1 The auto industry supports one in eight Ohio jobs. It's a source of pride to this state.  
L2 It's a source of pride for generations of workers. I refused to walk away from those  
L3 workers. I refused to walk away from those jobs. (Applause.) I wasn't going to let  
L4 Detroit go bankrupt, or Toledo go bankrupt, or Lordstown go bankrupt. (Applause.)  
L5 I bet on American workers. I bet on American manufacturing. And I'd do it again,  
L6 because that bet always pays off. (Applause.) So now, in the closing moments of  
L7 the election, Governor Romney is hoping you, too, **will** come down with a severe  
case of Romnesia.

AUDIENCE: No!

P13

L1 THE PRESIDENT: So I'm here to tell you, Cleveland, if you start feeling a  
L2 temperature, if you're eyes are getting a little blurry and your hearing is getting a  
L3 little muffled, if you're feeling a little weak, you need to know that whatever the  
L4 symptoms are, don't worry, Obamacare covers preexisting conditions. (Applause.)  
L5 We **can** fix you up. We **can** make you well. There's a cure, Ohio, you just have to  
L6 make sure to vote. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

P14

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Look, we joke about Romnesia, but it's not funny because it  
L2 speaks to something serious. It has to do with trust. There's no more serious issue  
L3 in a presidential campaign than trust. Trust matters. You know what, Ohio, after all  
L4 these years you now know me. You know that I mean what I say and I say what I  
L5 mean. (Applause.) You know that I've been willing to take some tough positions  
L6 even when they're not popular. And, by the way, saving the auto industry wasn't  
L7 popular when we were doing it even in Ohio, even in Michigan. But it was the  
L8 right thing to do. You know that every single day when I get up in the morning, I'm  
L9 thinking about you. When I walk into that Oval Office, I'm fighting for your  
L10 families. And we **may not** have gotten every single thing done that we need to  
L11 get done, but I have kept the commitments and the promises that I made.  
(Applause.)

P15

L1 I told you I'd end the war in Iraq -- and we did. (Applause.) I said we'd transition  
L2 out of Afghanistan -- and we are. (Applause.) I said we'd refocus on the terrorists  
L3 who actually carried out the 9/11 attacks -- and al Qaeda is decimated and Osama  
L4 bin Laden is dead. (Applause.) We kept those promises. (Applause.) A new tower  
L5 is rising above the New York skyline. Our heroes are starting to come home. I've  
L6 kept those promises. I was proud and humbled to learn today that we have Colin  
L7 Powell's support in this campaign. (Applause.) And I'm grateful to him because of



L8 his lifetime of service for his country, as a soldier and as a diplomat. But I'm also  
L9 grateful to every brave American who serves in uniform. And they **should** know  
L10 this: As long as I'm your Commander-in-Chief, I **will** sustain the strongest  
L11 military the world has ever known. (Applause.) That's a promise I've kept.

P16

L1 Four years ago, I promised to cut taxes for families like yours, for middle-class  
L2 families -- we kept that promise. I promised to cut taxes for small businesses --  
L3 we've cut taxes for small businesses 18 times. I kept that promise. (Applause.) I  
L4 promised to end taxpayer-funded bailouts for Wall Street -- I've kept that promise,  
L5 and we got every dime back that we used to rescue the financial system.  
L6 (Applause.) I promised that we **would** make sure that nobody in this great country  
L7 of ours goes bankrupt if somebody in their family gets sick -- we've kept that  
L8 promise. (Applause.) I promised to repeal "don't ask, don't tell," because anybody  
L9 who is willing to serve our country should be able to with honor and dignity  
L10 regardless of who they love. I kept that promise. (Applause.)

P17

L1 I said that we **would** keep the American auto industry going, and today its engines  
L2 are roaring at full throttle. Nearly 250,000 new jobs -- not just something the  
L3 Midwest **can** be proud of, something America **can** be proud of. (Applause.) We're L4  
moving forward, Ohio. After losing 9 million jobs in the Great Recession, using  
L5 the policies that Mitt Romney now wants to bring back that caused all those jobs  
L6 to be lost, we've now added, using my policies, more than 5 million new jobs in  
L7 the past two and a half years. (Applause.) The unemployment rate has fallen.  
L8 Manufacturing is coming back to our shores. Assembly lines are humming again.  
(Applause.)

P18

L1 We've got a long way to go, but, Ohio, we've come too far to turn back now.  
L2 (Applause.) We **can't** go backwards to the policies that caused us so much trouble,  
L3 that hurt so many families. We've got to stick to the policies that are getting out --  
L4 getting us out of this mess. I need you, Ohio. America needs you, Ohio. That's why  
L5 I'm running for a second term as President of the United States. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

P19

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Now, Ohio, I don't want your vote just because of what I have  
L2 done; I want your vote because of what I'm going to do. (Applause.) I've got a plan  
L3 that **will** actually create jobs, a plan that **will** actually create middle-class security.  
L4 And unlike Mr. Romney, I'm proud to talk about what is actually in my plan  
L5 because my plan adds up. The math works. If you want to take a look, go to  
L6 [BarackObama.com/plans](http://BarackObama.com/plans). I want you to share it with your neighbors. Share it with  
L7 your friends. Share it with your co-workers. There are still people out there who  
L8 are trying to make up their minds. Some of you **may** be still trying to make up your  
mind.

AUDIENCE: No!

P20

L1 THE PRESIDENT: Oh, no, maybe your girlfriend brought you here and she said,  
L2 I'm going to convince you tonight you need to vote for Obama -- but you haven't

L3 made up your mind yet. Maybe your Grandma said, you need to vote for Obama.  
L4 And you said, okay, Grandma, I'll come. But you're not yet sure. So I want you to  
L5 look at this plan. Compare my plan to Governor Romney's. I'm not scared of the  
L6 comparison. I want you to know what's in my plan and what's in his, and see  
L7 what's better for you and your family and for America. (Applause.)

P21

L1 Look, here's what's in my plan: I want to end tax breaks for companies that ship  
L2 jobs overseas. I want to rewards small businesses and manufacturers who create  
L3 jobs right here in Ohio, right here in the United States of America. (Applause.)  
L4 Number two, I want to cut our oil imports in half by 2020 so we control more of  
L5 our own energy. We're less dependent on foreign oil than any time in the last two  
L6 decades, and we're producing jobs doing it. And one reason, by the way, is because  
L7 we increased fuel-efficiency standards on cars and trucks made right here in  
L8 America, so your cars and trucks will go twice as far on a gallon of gas. (Applause.)

P22

L1 I don't want fuel-efficient cars, or long-lasting batteries, or wind turbines, or solar  
L2 panels built in China. I want them built here. (Applause.) I want them  
L3 manufactured in Cleveland. I want them made in Ohio. I want them stamped with:  
L4 Made in America. We can do that. (Applause.) Now, I also want to make sure that  
L5 our kids and our workers are better trained than everybody else. We've got to make  
L6 this a national mission. I want to recruit 100,000 math and science teachers to  
L7 make sure our kids are at the cutting edge. (Applause.) I want to train 2 million  
L8 workers at community colleges so they have the skills for the jobs that are there  
L9 right now and the jobs of the future. I want to work to make sure that colleges and  
L10 universities keep tuition down so our young people aren't burdened with debt.  
L11 (Applause.) We can do that.

P23

L1 Number four, my plan will cut the deficit by \$4 trillion over the next 10 years. We  
L2 need to do that, but we need to do it in a balanced way. We can do it without  
L3 sticking it to the middle class. I'm going to cut out spending that we don't need  
L4 -- we've already cut a trillion dollars -- but I'm also going to ask the wealthiest  
L5 among us to pay a little bit more -- (applause) -- so that we can invest in the  
L6 research and technology to keep new jobs and businesses coming to America.

P24

L1 And by the way, I'm not going to use deficit reduction as an excuse to turn  
L2 Medicare into a voucher system. (Applause.) Because Americans should not be  
L3 spending their golden years at the mercy of insurance companies. (Applause.) And  
L4 by the way, while we're on the topic of health care, we saw again this week, you  
L5 don't want a bunch of politicians in Washington, most of whom are male, making  
L6 health care decisions for women. Women can make those decisions themselves.  
L7 (Applause.) That's what I stand for. That's what I'll continue to stand for as  
L8 President of the United States of America. (Applause.)

P25

L1 Number five, as we are ending the war in Iraq and Afghanistan, I want to take  
L2 some of the money that we save and put it to work doing some nation-building  
L3 here at home. We've got construction workers and folks in the trades who are at  
L4 home right now. They're dying to get back to work. Let's put them back to work

L5 rebuilding our roads and our bridges, our schools all across America. Let's train  
L6 our veterans as they're coming home to get some of those jobs. (Applause.)

P26

L1 Let's make sure that we're giving them a chance to be police officers and  
L2 firefighters and first responders. Let's make sure our veterans when they come  
L3 home are being served as well as they've served us -- because nobody **should** have  
L4 to fight for a job when you've fought for your country. You **shouldn't** have to fight  
L5 for a roof over your heads when you've fought for your country. (Applause.) Look,  
L6 Ohio, that's the plan we need. That's how you build a strong, sustainable economy.  
L7 That's how you create good middle-class jobs. That's how you encourage new  
L8 businesses to start here and stay here. That's how you increase take-home pay.  
L9 That's how you give workers a chance, if they're willing to work hard, to build a  
L10 better life for themselves. (Applause.) That's how you make sure that everybody  
L11 has got a chance to get ahead.

P27

L1 That's what we **can** do. But we **can** only do it together. And Ohio, I'm going to  
L2 need you to do it. It's now up to you to choose the path that we take. It's up to the  
L3 young people who are here -- (applause) -- to choose the future that you want. It's  
L4 up to the not-so-young people like me and you -- you know who you are --  
L5 (laughter) -- to choose the future you want for the next generation.

P28

L1 We **can** go back to the top-down policies that we know in our gut **won't** work, or  
L2 you **can** choose the policies that we know give us the prospect of broad-based  
L3 prosperity. You **can** choose a foreign policy like Governor Romney is offering  
L4 that's reckless and wrong, or you **can** choose the kind of policy that I've  
L5 implemented that is steady and strong. (Applause.) You **can** choose to turn back  
L6 the clock 50 years for women and immigrants and gays, or in this election, you  
L7 **can** stand up for that basic principle enshrined in our founding documents that all  
L8 of us are created equal, all of us endowed with certain inalienable rights by our  
L9 Creator; that it doesn't matter whether you're black or white, Hispanic, Asian,  
L10 Native American, young or old, rich or poor, gay or straight, abled or disabled --  
L11 we all have a place in America if you're willing to work hard, if you're willing to  
L12 stand up, you **can** make it here in America if you try. That's what we're fighting  
L13 for. That's who we are. (Applause.)

P29

L1 Listen, Ohio, I know we've been through tough times. Every day I think about  
L2 everybody out there all across the country who wants to work and is still looking  
L3 for a job, whose homes may be still underwater or at risk of foreclosure. The folks  
L4 out there who, at the end of the month, are sitting around the kitchen table, trying  
L5 to figure out, how am I going to make all these bills.

P30

L1 Michelle and I understand it because we know what it's been like to have a tough  
L2 time sometimes. But what I also know and all of you remind me of this every day  
L3 when I'm talking to the American people -- we're tougher than tough times. We  
L4 always bounce back. We always come out on top because we pull together,  
L5 because we look out for one another, because we leave nobody behind, because we  
L6 don't forget where we come from, because if we're successful then we keep the

L7 door open for folks who are coming up from behind, because we don't look  
L8 backwards -- we look forward. We look at that distant horizon. We look at that  
L9 new frontier. We are not afraid of the future. (Applause.)

P31

L1 America, our destiny is not written for us -- it's written by us. And we **can** write  
L2 that next chapter together. And that's why I'm asking you for your vote in this  
L3 election. (Applause.) And if you give me your vote, I promise you, you **will**  
L4 continue to have a President who hears your voices; a President who fights for  
L5 your families; a President who spends every waking hour trying to figure out how  
L6 I **can** make sure that your lives are a little bit better, and more importantly, that all  
L7 of our children's lives are a whole lot brighter.

Ohio, I believe in you.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: We believe in you!

P32

L1 THE PRESIDENT: And I need you to keep believing in me. And if you're willing  
L2 to roll up your sleeves and work with me, knock on some doors with me, make  
L3 some phone calls with me, we're going to win Cuyahoga County. We're going to  
L4 win Ohio. We're going to win this election. We're going to finish what we started.  
L5 We'll remind the world why the United States of America is the greatest nation on  
L6 Earth. (Applause.)

God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)